R E P O R T R E S U M E S

ED 011 096 AC 000 045

CHANGING CONCEPTS OF PRODUCTIVE LIVING.

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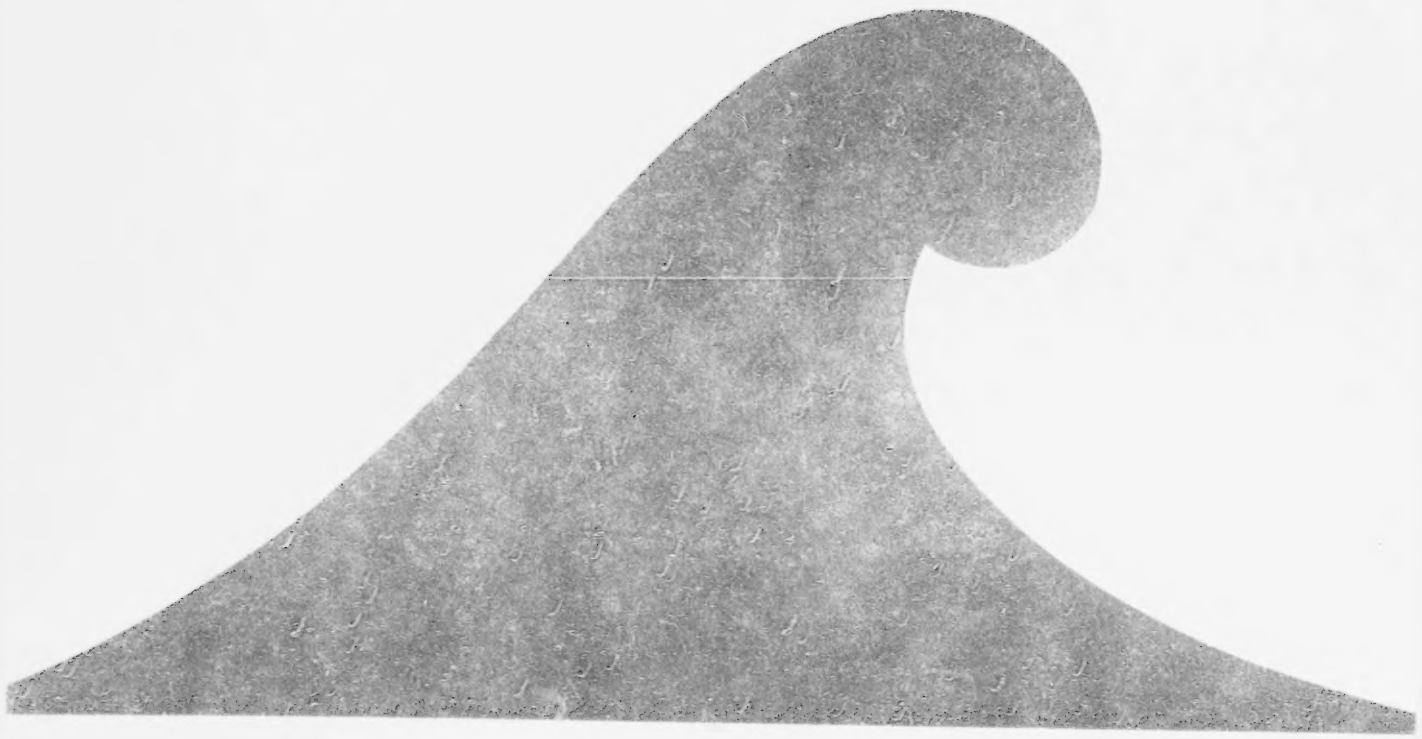
PUB DATE 67

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.27 HC-$5.28 132P.

DESCRIPTORS- *SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT, *PRODUCTIVE LIVING, *SOCIAL CHANGE, *WORK ATTITUDES, *COMMUNITY CHANGE, COMMUNITY PLANNING, EDUCATIONAL PLANNING, AUTOMATION, SOCIAL VALUES, ECONOMIC CLIMATE, FAMILY LIFE, SEX DIFFERENCES, CONFERENCES, PERCEPTION, ROLE CONFLICTS, WORK, LEISURE, MADISON

AT A CONFERENCE OF ADULT EDUCATORS DESIGNED TO BRING INTO FOCUS NEW PERSPECTIVES OF THE ROLES OF ADULT EDUCATION, PAPERS WERE PRESENTED ON THE CHANGING CONCEPTS OF PRODUCTIVE LIVING AND THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CONCERN FOR PRODUCTIVE LIVING AND ADULT EDUCATION. AN OVERVIEW PROVIDED A WORKING ORIENTATION AND DESCRIBED THE BASIC FORCES AND PROBLEMS IN THE CHANGING ROLE AND CONCEPTUALIZATION OF WORK AND INDIVIDUAL PRODUCTIVITY. A SCHEMATIC MODEL WAS DEVELOPED OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN SOCIETY TO EXPLAIN THE EVOLUTIONARY, FEEDBACK, AND SYNTHESIS MECHANISMS OF INDIVIDUALS DYNAMICALLY INTERACTING IN SOCIETY. A PAPER DISCUSSES THE PROBLEM OF LEISURE IN MODERN SOCIETY. OUTDATED AND UNREALISTIC CONCEPTS OF COMMUNITY LIFE WERE IDENTIFIED AS FRUSTRATING AND BLOCKING PROGRESS TOWARD MORE PRODUCTIVE LIVING. THE PAPERS CONCLUDED WITH A DISCUSSION OF THE CHANGING SEX ROLES IN THE AMERICAN FAMILY AS REFLECTED IN VARYING NORMS FOR FAMILY LIVING, AND THE ROLE AND FUNCTION OF THE ADULT EDUCATOR IN RELATION TO THESE CHANGING CONCEPTS OF SEX ROLE DIFFERENTIATION. THIS DOCUMENT IS ALSO AVAILABLE FROM THE BOOKSTORE, UNIVERSITY EXTENSION, THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN, 432 NORTH LAKE ST., MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706, FOR $2.50. (EB)

ED011096



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AC 000 045 E

Edited by Robert D. Boyd

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION
The University of Wisconsin
Madison, 1967

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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Edited by Robert D. Boyd

Published by University Extension, The University of Wisconsin,
in cooperation with the Department of Curriculum and Instruction
and the Department of Educational Policy Studies

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PART I

Changing Concepts of Productive Living

Introduction

Robert D. Boyd

In 1959 the Department of Education of The University of Wisconsin, Madison, inaugurated the first in a continuing series of summer conferences on topics within the field of adult education. The conferences have been designed to examine basic issues, to bring new developments to the professionals in the field of adult education, and to bring into focus new perspectives of the roles of adult education. The 1966 conference was of the latter type. It was designed to provoke new insights into a crucial problem of our society, a problem which is increasing in intensity each year. Amid the acceleration of change, automation, computerizing, and the growing complexity of interacting societal systems, what is productive living?

Over the years a wealth of material has been presented at these summer conferences. Some of the papers given were subsequently published in various journals. Many of the papers, unfortunately, were never published. None of the papers of any preceding conferences were published under one cover. The conferences have been financed by two graduate departments in the School of Education--the Department of Curriculum and Instruction and the Department of Policy Studies. The University Extension, which had in many significant ways supported the conferences over the years, took on the financial responsibilities of publishing the papers given at the 1966 summer conference. Through this action, the University of Wisconsin has an opportunity of bringing information and ideas to the wider boundaries of the university community.

The information and ideas that this monograph brings to the reader pertain to the changing concepts of productive living. If the reader is not convinced that the concepts of productive living are not changing, he will find this volume a revelation of provocative challenges to his ideas. The relationship between the concerns for productive living and adult education has always been a basic one. The training of adults for vocational goals and the development of leisure-time avocational goals have always been central concerns in adult education.

It is a cruel reality that the professionals in adult education have more than they can do to meet present demands. The number of professionals in the field is small. With the growing number of financial opportunities offered by all levels of government and the need to meet immediate and serious problems of communities, the adult educator has the feeling of being buried and torn at the same time. These conditions and demands too often identify the adult educator as "johnny-come-lately."

The university can help in a number of ways. One important way is for a university to look ahead, ask questions about the future and place the findings in the market place of today's ideas. This route is neither escape nor idealism. Informed school superintendents have long used projected figures upon which to build and finance their school programs. In the same vein, it is conceivable that some of the projects that are now being pursued in adult education should be abandoned in light of our growing information on the nature of tomorrow's society. Beating the old horse may give us a sense of business, but it may not be the most profitable way to move the cart.

In designing The Conference on the Changing Concepts of Productive Living, our intent was to examine the question in some depth. The committee that planned the conference wished to have included in the examination the consideration of the individual through his adult life cycle as he faces economic, political and cultural institutions and forces. To place these perplexing and complex

aspects into some manageable form, it was decided to view them at three levels--the societal level, the community level, and the familial level. An overview of certain basic issues was planned as a means to identify the problem of the changing concepts of productive living in the framework of today's problems.

The scope of the conference topic necessitated an initial paper which would provide an overview. An overview could provide a working orientation and could put in bold relief some of the basic forces and problems involved in the changing role and conceptualization of work and individual productivity. We were most fortunate in having Alvin Toffler prepare this overview. Mr. Toffler is the author of numerous articles and of the book, The Cultural Consumers.

In his words, Mr. Toffler attempts in his paper "to hold up the concept of work, rotate it under new light, and perhaps see it as a future generation might." He begins his paper with an historical discussion of work as it has and does relate to the realities of economic and psychological productivity. His paper makes clear that work has been a central theme in man's life since recorded history. Mr. Toffler goes on to show where technological innovations have forced us to re-examine the place and meaning of work in our lives. In conclusion, he offers some startling illustrations of a new concept called "post-economic work."

Following the overview examination of the changing concepts of productive living, three sets of paired papers were delivered. Each set dealt with different organizational levels of society. The first of these sets was a consideration of the individual in society. The first of the two papers was written by Dr. Van R. Potter.

Dr. Potter is a professor of oncology and is Assistant Director of the McArdle Laboratory. It may seem strange to the reader that we asked a scholar in cancer research to discuss productive living in society. But knowing the man and the concerns of his discipline would explain the reasons we sought him out.

In his professional career he has frequently spoken on basic issues of society, and he has taken an active part in problems within his own community. On another account, disease is not a phenomenon discrete from society. As Potter states in his paper, the stress that society brings to bear on the individual is significant and strong.

Dr. Potter first addresses himself to the question: what is an optimum environment? Adaptation, as a growth mechanism, is considered a crucial function of an individual as he faces the "systematic tasks..." In a provocative and illuminating manner, Dr. Potter employs the analogy of the DNA molecule system to develop a schematic model to explain the evolutionary, feedback and synthesis mechanisms of individuals dynamically interacting in their society. It is evident from the reading of this paper that adult education has much to gain from intensive dialogues with other life-science disciplines.

The authors of the second paper in each set were given the first paper to read. They were free to select any idea or set of ideas in the first paper and to criticize or amplify them. In addition, these writers were instructed to write something more than a critique. They were to bring to the conference their own unique professional contributions to the particular area of inquiry. The conference committee was fortunate to obtain three extremely competent authorities to accept the challenge.

Dr. Lawrence Suhm, the author of the second paper, is Director of the Center for Leisure Resource Development at The University of Wisconsin. He has written and spoken extensively on the problems of leisure in modern society. In this paper, Dr. Suhm clearly identifies spare time as a growing problem of our society. He stresses a need in our society for a change in the concept and function of leisure. He ends his paper with an intriguing proposal whereby workers would earn time off, not for vacations, but for leisure-time activities. Leisure, Dr. Suhm defines as "...a condition in which time and energy are freed for the development and exercise of human capacities."

The second set of papers examines the individual in his community. Mr. Frank Zeidler, the author of the first paper on the topic, was former Mayor of Milwaukee and Director of the Department of Resource Development for the State of Wisconsin at the time of Governor John Reynolds. He has served as community consultant on a variety of problems for many communities.

An issue Mr. Zeidler raises in his paper points out that one function of a community may be the striving for the productive life. In one sense this is similar to John Dewey's concept of living as being the concern for human growth, the end in reality being the means. Mr. Zeidler identifies a group of out-dated and unrealistic concepts of community life which at present frustrate and block progress towards more productive living. He discusses the concept of "community conflict" as a means by which a rational society may be able to openly work through deep and dividing issues. He clearly alerts us to the "deep and explosive divisions" between the suburbs and the inner city. The solution to these "divisions" is basic to productive living in modern America.

Dr. Keith Warner is an assistant professor of rural sociology at The University of Wisconsin. He has spoken and written on decision-making in formal organization and in informal settings. His insights into the dynamic processes of community living and his demonstrated ability to identify and analyze the crucial issues were among the committee's reasons for asking him to write the second paper on productive living in the community.

Among several points that Warner draws out into sharp focus is the realization of the possibility that productive living may be an unanalyzable abstraction. In part, it may be so because not one but several disciplines are required to define it. This is a provocative idea in view of the different disciplines represented in this symposium. Warner goes on to differentiate the consummatory meaning of productive living opposed to the instrumental meaning. Further, he presents a fine distinction between the community as actor and the community as context.

The last two papers focus on the family. The first of the two papers was written by Dr. LeMasters, Professor in the School of Social Work, at The University of Wisconsin. A sociologist by training, Dr. LeMasters has spent much of his professional life in the study of the family. His varied positions in the professional field of social work has given him a rich body of experience from which to view the American family. Among his more popular writings is the volume Modern Courtships and Marriage.[1]

The reader will find that Dr. LeMasters has an ability to cut away the unessential from the central issues of a problem and thus expose it clearly for examination. In this sense his paper is perspicacious, while his style of writing reaches out and engages the reader through his human and intimate approach in dealing with his subject. Among the many points that Dr. LeMasters makes is that the sex roles in the American family have changed and are changing. These changes will be reflected in varying norms for family living. In turn, these changes are integrally interwoven into our definition of productive living in the family. Mr. LeMasters states that the "key to sex role models in contemporary America is flexibility." Whether the adult educator accepts or argues with LeMasters' position, the implications are a challenge to adult education.

The last paper in the symposium was written by Dr. Josephine Staab. She was former Dean of the School of Home Economics at The University of Wisconsin. She is a professor of home economics, who has devoted her professional study to the economics of family life. Dr. Staab's national reputation will have already identified her to many readers of this collection. She has written and spoken on numerous occasions to various types of audiences on basic issues of economics as they relate to the family as a dynamic institution.

Dr. Staab agrees with Dr. LeMasters' concept of role flexibility. However, she points out that there are many and varied facets to the whole issue. The problem is larger than the concerns of the immediate family. The role and function of the adult educator is greatly involved in the education of our society to the

changing concepts of sex role differentiation. Dr. Staab raises a number of significant questions, many of which need our immediate attention. The issue of productivity defined in terms other than monetary is clearly described in this paper. Her ending statement concerning identification of the criteria for productivity in family life focuses on a central question.

Throughout all the papers the psychological dimension of the issue of productivity in modern American life was referred to in some way, although none of the papers was written by a psychologist. As the conference progressed, it became clear that the psychological implications, which were not designed for this year's symposium, need to be considered at length.

In recent years a good deal has been written on the psychological aspects of productive living. Reisman[2] put this problem in a socio-psychological framework. Fromm[3] and Erikson[4] from a psychoanalytical point of view addressed themselves to the problems of identity and productivity. The Feminine Mystique[5] crashed upon the American reading public with startling popularity. Throughout a score of journals and popular magazines numerous articles have appeared on the psychological aspects of automation and the productive life. We are not without words, but we may be without a general understanding of the effect of the new technological developments on the psychological meaning of productive living.

The adult educator will do well to reflect on the problems and issues presented in this symposium. He will see the need to explore new ways and new ideas with members from other disciplines in order to find an operational and dynamic role for the rising generation that will have to live with the new technology. Some of the dramatic alternatives presented in these papers underline the conference committee's belief that we must seriously adapt our profession to the changing concepts of productive living.

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The Concept of Post-Economic Work

Alvin Toffler

No force has shaped the personality of Western man more powerfully and continuously than work.

Work determines the daily rhythm of life not only for the worker but for his family. Work is a key determinant of status and self-esteem. Work affects the physical development of the body, the diseases to which it is prone and even its life expectancy. It also deeply affects the individual's mental outlook as well as his tolerance for boredom, novelty and ambiguity. It affects his conceptions of time and space. When the nature of work changes, all kinds of psychological alterations follow in its wake.

Between now and the year 2000--a point in time much closer than most of us realize--we can expect fundamental changes in the nature and meaning of work.

Many things are moving toward this end. Education, increasing mobility in society, changes in family structure--all these will alter work, as we know it. But even more important are automation and the rise of the computer. By automation, I should make clear, I do not mean mere mechanization of the kind we have known since the beginnings of the industrial revolution. I refer, instead, to the introduction of complex, self-regulating devices--homeostatic mechanisms--into our factories, our offices and our homes. These feedback mechanisms, capable not merely of acting on the environment, but of perceiving and assessing

the effects of their own actions, represent a qualitative advance in man's ability to coerce his environment.

Those who glibly assert that automation and computers are of minor consequence, because man has lived with machines for many years, are like those who see in the hydrogen bomb nothing more than a simple quantitative extension of the bow and arrow.

Automation will affect the level of employment in the country.

Automation will bring about many job changes and transfers.

Automation will increase the need for worker mobility and retraining.

Automation will affect leisure time and how we spend it.

Automation will eliminate much of the routine work of industry.

Automation will raise the level of abstraction at which managers must work.

Automation will increase the productivity of the economy.

Automation will spread the pattern of the serial career--in which a man enters into not merely one but a succession of occupations or professions.

Changes of such importance suggest that, if we are to cope with the new world of work, we must begin to plan now. And if we are to plan well, we must start by speculating about the possible directions society might take with respect to work. Only if we are free-minded enough to speculate, to play with ideas, will we later be able to choose well among the alternatives presented to us by reality. It is for this reason that I want to hold up the concept of work, rotate it under new light and perhaps see it as a future generation might.

To do this, however, I must introduce a strange new concept of work--a mutant variety that I shall call "post-economic work."

The concept of post-economic work begins with the simple though frequently overlooked premise that work and leisure need not necessarily be mutually exclusive. Our ingrained Aristotelian habit of dichotomizing, of seeing everything in terms of polar opposites, should not blind us to the possibility that in the affluent future we may witness a radical synthesis of leisure and work, rather than the substitution of one for the other.

I shall return to post-economic work after a detour that will set it in perspective. Before plunging into the "deep future," however, for a look at a society so rich that it can play games with work, let me turn the focus backward. Let us see what has been happening to work in the past half century.

The Shrinkage of Work

In 1900 there were 76 million people in the United States. There are 8,760 hours in each year. This means that there were some 666 billion "life-hours" in society in 1900. If we assume an average eight hours a day were spent in sleep, that would leave approximately 444 billion hours of waking time available for work. Of these, 87.5 billion were actually devoted to economically remunerated employment. This tells us, therefore, that roughly 20 per cent of all waking hours in that year were spent working.

(Of course, since many members of society were too young, too sick or too old to work, the proportion of working time spent by those who actually did work was much greater.)

By 1960 the U.S. population had grown to 180 million and the number of waking hours devoted to work each year had climbed to more than a trillion--1,051,000,000,000 to be accurate. Time committed to work, however, had declined to about 14 percent.

Now a drop from 20 to 14 percent does not sound like much. Yet it implies a massive cutback in our social commitment to work. It represents a

reduction of the work component of society by nearly one-third in the span of 60 years. This has drastically changed the patterns of daily life for millions of people.

At the same time that the commitment to work has declined, output has skyrocketed. There are many technical difficulties with productivity measurement. The more service-oriented a society becomes, the higher the stage of economic development it reaches, the less useful the traditional productivity indices become. Nevertheless, even with this statistical caution in mind, the performance of the U. S. economy must be regarded as astonishing.

Between 1850 and 1889 nongovernmental output per man-hour worked grew at an average rate of 1.3 percent per year. Between 1889 and 1919 it climbed at an average 2 percent per year. From then till the end of World War II it increased at a rate of 2.5 percent per year. Since then the rate has grown steeper: it has been increasing at an average annual rate of 3.2 percent. And, if we isolate its performance during the last five years alone, we find it averaging 3.6 percent annually.

Productivity figures such as these measure the increases in efficiency with which man is able to convert resources into the particular goods and services he wants. Thus we see this rising curve reflected in the Gross National Product, the aggregate output of the economy. Between 1950 and 1960, for example, GNP shot up from $285 to $504 billion. Between 1960 and 1965 it spurted to about $675 billion. Even after one accounts for inflation, so that we are able to deal with constant dollars, the growth between 1960 and 1965 alone was more than 25 percent.

It may be too soon to know whether the present 3.6 rate of increase will continue. Productivity figures do fluctuate. But even if we make the conservative assumption that the rate of improvement will decline to the 3.2 level characteristic of the entire postwar period, after ten years we will arrive at a point

at which every hour worked yields between 35 and 40 percent more goods and services than a comparable hour worked this year.

This means that if the same number of workers devote the same number of hours to working in 1975 as are devoted to working today, we can expect a sizeable leap in output. But we now know that by 1975 there will be 25 million more Americans of working age.

When you combine rising productivity with an expanding work force, it is possible to foresee truly phenomenal increases in output, increases that will make everything until now look poverty-stricken by comparison.

The "Keep 'em Working" Policy

Faced with this likelihood, society will have to choose among a number of alternative work-leisure policies.

The first major alternative is to keep people working--to slow down or even stop the shrinkage of work in society. Such a policy presupposes that it is a good thing for people to work. Indeed, there are many who regard work not merely as an economic necessity, but as a moral and psychological good.

There is a legitimate anxiety hidden behind these attitudes. In our society, as suggested earlier, work is the organizing principle around which personality coheres and family structure crystallizes. What happens to such a society when the shrinkage of work reaches a critical point?

If one sees the validity of such a question, one can view economic activity as worthwhile for noneconomic as well as for bread and butter reasons, and one can then set about bolstering the place of work in the social system. One can, for example, encourage consumer demand by raising public expectations with respect to economic welfare; or, instead, one might siphon off wealth from society so that people keep working merely to meet their present expectations. This might be termed the "Keep 'em working policy," and there are at least five ways to implement it.

1. Shopping Spree Tactics. We can pump more money into advertising. We can gear education to encourage consumption. We can make credit easy to get. We can flagellate people into buying more cars and color televisions, more swimming pools, more electric toothbrushes and tape recorders and cameras; the list is endless. I have no doubt that if we try, we can get Americans to buy more tangible goods. Moreover, I have great respect for tangible goods, so that I don't want to leave the impression I necessarily oppose this policy.

Rather, I raise another question. While the list of such goods is endless, is it possible that the public appetite for such goods is not? It seems to me at least theoretically possible that there is some upper limit to the ability or desire of a society to consume material goods. This seems like premature and even fatuous conjecture at a time when we still operate poverty programs and when the overwhelming majority of mankind lives in scarcity. Yet even now, if one looks closely at American society, one can see the beginnings of a shift of emphasis in our patterns of consumption. This shift suggests another possible way to keep people gainfully employed.

2. A Big Bargain-Hunt for Experiences. Consumers can buy something other than goods. Indeed, as a highly industrialized society matures, people become less intrigued with adding possessions than they are with adding experiences of various kinds and freeing themselves of unpleasant duties. My own book, The Culture Consumers, documented the spectacular increase in cultural activity in the United States since the end of World War II. Concerts are increasingly sold out. Museums are packed. Amateur participation in painting, theater and dance is sharply on the rise. Culture has, in fact, become a big business. Yet a substantial part of this business has nothing at all to do with tangible products. It produces "experiences" for people who are willing to pay for them. The same might be said to a degree for recreation industries generally, for mass entertainment, for advertising and even for psychiatry.

There is another kind of experience to be purchased, too: the sense of security. When a megalopolis can be successively staggered by a water shortage, a power failure, a subway strike, a newspaper blackout and a riot in its ghetto, the yearning for sheer physical security becomes a consumer need.

A friend of mine who was a public health officer once remarked that all great cities live within a week of the plague. The breakdown of sewage and sanitation facilities could lead to an explosive increase in the rat population and thereby touch off devastating epidemics.

This is much too close for peace of mind, and when it is combined with all the other striking vulnerabilities of the big urban center, it points to the need for perfectly massive expenditures and the possible employment of large numbers of people.

If we want to buy a sense of security, we shall need to wipe out ghettos and build new fail-safe systems of transportation, sanitation, power, communication, etc. To do this, we shall have to get used to spending money. Not 5 percent more, but, perhaps, 50 percent more, even 250 percent more, if necessary.

3. Consuming Peace. A simple extension of the search for domestic security is the pursuit of peace in the world. Peace, however, may be too cheap to be economically interesting to a society that produces great surpluses of wealth.

One way, of course, to drain off surplus output is to spend it on nonproductive enterprises such as war. War is a highly efficient device for siphoning wealth out of a society so that its superabundance doesn't wreck the existing social structure. You simply tax everyone, thereby taking away wealth, and you pump this money into jetfighters, helicopters, napalm, hydrogen bombs, and a large standing army of men who are kept occupied in ways that do not add to output.

Almost as salutary as war, economically speaking, and certainly much better in every other way, is the system of suspended hostilities that passes for peace in most parts of the world today. This is a point that Marxists and pacifists tend to overlook in their attacks on "warmongers." In a slowly changing society, you collect your troops, you arm them to the teeth, and then, unless you actually fight and use up the implements of war, your military activities are no longer useful in coping with overproduction. In short, if you want to burn up goods, you must fight.

Today, in a world in which technological obsolescence is rapid, the process of keeping the armed forces up-to-date requires you to junk mountains of expensive arms and to manufacture new and increasingly costly ones. Therefore, it is possible to gain the economic advantages that war itself confers without ever really fighting. Under these circumstances, there is no payoff in being an honest-to-goodness warmonger unless one happens to be a psychopath. One can make quite a comfortable living as a merchant of death without ever really needing or actually causing a war. The threat is sufficient.

The problem confronting us today may be to make disarmament and international inspection costly enough so that they begin to be useful in siphoning off surplus wealth exactly as war used to do.

4. The Charity Bazaar. Charity, of course, is much less popular than war, but it, too, has its uses. For another simple way of coping with the cornucopia of rising productivity is to cream off some of the economic output of society and give it to less fortunate nations.

This, of course, is only a temporary expedient, for the power of technology is such that the day will probably arrive when even the less fortunate will want to give goods away also. This, too, seems very far off and foolish in view of the population problem. Yet it is a characteristic of our time that the implausible becomes routine. At any rate, for the time being foreign aid can

be viewed as a way of keeping Americans at work and delivering us from idleness. Regarded in this way, we can say that by giving away goods to Buddhists, Moslems, Hindus, Confucians and an occasional Zoroastrian or two, we are really bolstering the Protestant Ethic.

5. Celestial High-Jinks. If we ever tire of war, cold war, and charity, we can always expand what might be termed "war surrogate activity"--the international space race. As long as we collect the wealth of the individual American or Russian here on earth and shower it over the surface of Mars or the moon, it compensates for the rising curve of productivity down here.

Considering the vastness of the out-there and all the opportunities we have to scatter copper wires in the cosmos, it is clear that we could keep man chained to work indefinitely if we chose to--and, more importantly--if he would permit it.

These, then, are a few of the things that can be done to implement the "Keep 'em Working Policy." Along with these comes the need for exquisitely refined economic and social planning to make sure that the right jobs are at the right places at the right times. This is no easy task. Moreover, our ability to employ any of these options is restrained by social and political realities. Thus, we may find that, despite an abundance of theoretical alternatives, the practical problems of providing work will be too much for us. As the labor force expands beyond the 90 million mark, we could be overwhelmed. Nevertheless, the labor shortages induced by the Vietnam engagement are sufficient to indicate that there is nothing inevitable about mass unemployment even in a rich society. We can, I believe, keep large numbers of people working for a long time if we are determined to and if we are willing to make major changes in the economy. We can probably stop the shrinkage of work, if we so desire. But should we?

The Unstructured Leisure Society

A few years ago in his book The New Improved American, Bernard Asbell wrote, "The immediate emergency may be unemployment. But in the long line of human history, we have been enchained, immobilized and retarded by the horrors of employment."

Certainly, the view that all men should work is not shared by those splendidly muscled sun-gods who surf along the California coast, living off unemployment compensation or checks mailed them by indulgent fathers. Clearly, some people just want to have a good time in ways that do not add to the GNP. They just want to loaf, sky-dive, gamble, litter the highways with beer cans, act in amateur theatricals, watch television and make love in the morning.

From the point of view of such people, the "Keep 'em Working Policy" is immoral.

Professionals in education and recreation, literary critics and others, most of whom are compulsive workers, worry about whether the mass of men are spending their leisure properly. They complain there is too much conformity in the ways people choose to spend their discretionary time. I am not sure I approve of all the ways in which people spend their time off the job, but it is work, not leisure, that breeds conformity. There are a limited number of ways to produce economic values. There are unlimited ways to spend free time. Not all of these, however, are admirable. This is true for two reasons. First, what some people need or want to do is inherently anti-social. We call such people disturbed or mentally ill because they can only get their kicks out of violence or crime. Second, there are those who are not sick, but profoundly ignorant of the opportunities that society provides for personal development and service to the community. These are people whose minds are so underdeveloped they cannot conceive of socially approved ways of behavior that might be rewarding for them; they don't know how society operates outside their own tiny circle or how

they might fit into it. Freed from the industrial discipline, these people become recruits in the gangs that sick but imaginative youngsters create.

The result is that motorcycles roar into a California community and there is trouble. Or a party is crashed and a fight begins. Or worse.

Some time ago I interviewed teenagers in a small suburban community just outside Philadelphia. On Halloween night, 1964, a gang of kids broke into the studio of the artist, Andrew Wyeth, and smashed windows, broke furniture and slashed and dirtied the whole place. I went down to try to find out why.

I remember one boy, a 17-year-old. His face was clean; his hair was combed. He was neatly dressed. He sat on the edge of a billiard table, his legs dangling. He looked for all the world like a boy in a Coca Cola advertisement.

It was his theory that the kids broke up Wyeth's studio out of sheer boredom. I ran through a list of things--dances, bowling, movies and other recreational activities that were presumably available in the community. He was unimpressed. There's no excitement in doing these things all the time, he said, so the kids drive up and down the highways going from one joint to another looking for something to do.

"Are you bored, too," I asked.

"Yeah," he said.

"What about school. Isn't there something that interests you?"

"No," he said.

"Why is there so much boredom? What can be done about it?"

A shrug for reply.

"What about parents. Can't they do anything about it?"

Again a shrug. "What can parents do?"

I pressed him. "Do you think a man like Andrew Wyeth ever gets bored?"

"I don't know," the boy replied, proceeding to miss the point entirely. "I guess if you've got money you can afford to do things."

"Like what," I asked.

"Couldn't tell you," he answered.

"Then is life always going to be this way? Is that all there is to it? Is boredom something that can't ever be changed?"

"Seems like it is," said the boy, losing interest in our conversation.

Who is to say that the industrial grindstone, work every day and a paycheck on Friday, wouldn't be better for this boy than a totally unstructured life of leisure, or a life in which work plays only a small part? In 17 years we have not been able to suggest to this boy, who is not a drop-out and who is by no means poverty-stricken, that life need not be a bore. The increase of leisure will open a vacuum for him.

The Concept of Post-Economic Work

How does one fill a life? That is the question posed for us by the shrinking importance of work. And now at last we come to the new concept of work promised at the beginning of this paper. For there is a completely different path that society might take on its long march into the affluent future.

Man can pursue the "Keep 'em Working Policy" for a long time if he is willing to make enough radical changes in his social organization and if his planning is more and more refined.

Man can also, if he so chooses, trade off the coming material abundance for greater and greater blocks of essentially unstructured discretionary time.

But there is a third road as well. It provides for the expansion of leisure within a structured framework, and it involves nothing less than the mutation of work, or, perhaps more accurately, the synthesis of work and leisure. Such a synthesis could move eventually toward what I mean by post-economic work.

The concept of post-economic work can best be understood if we stop to consider that work, even as we know it today, can be measured in various ways. Every job theoretically results in the production of a certain quantity of goods and services. But every job also produces psychological, cultural, intellectual, moral and even biological changes in the worker. Traditionally, we have measured economic output and largely ignored all the other effects of work. As the pressure of scarcity relents, however, it becomes feasible to rescale our values with regard to work. We can begin to value work primarily for the kinds of changes it can produce in the worker and only secondarily for its economic output. Work can be defined as post-economic when a higher value is placed on the non-economic effects than on the purely economic payoffs.

This concept has interesting consequences, for it suggests policies under which, even in a highly automated and fantastically rich society, work could be preserved as a fundamental of life. Through the institution of post-economic work, the outer forms of work might be preserved. Thus, the practice of bringing groups together for collective purposes might be continued. The association between work and payment could be retained. A certain modicum of discipline or structure could be preserved, if thought necessary. But while these outer forms might be kept alive, the inner core of work itself would have to be revolutionized.

Thus, as productivity and abundance rose, it would become possible, consciously and systematically, to change the content of work, infusing more and more leisure, education and entertainment elements into it, while shrinking the purely economic component of the job. As long as one man is needed to press a single button to set the wheels of production in motion, work would retain some economic significance. But in the ultimate push-button system, the economic component becomes little more than a vestigial trace.

As machines take over more and more responsibility for the production of goods and services, if we replace economic by post-economic work, we have no

need to lay off workers. Rather, we broaden the definition of work to include more and more behavior designed to be valuable or gratifying to the individual in noneconomic ways.

Thus, it is possible to conceive of a total economy, an entire society, in which people continue to "work," but in which work is no longer regarded solely as a way of processing materials, but as a way of processing people as well. It is seen as a multipurpose activity in which economic output is a side effect while the gratification and growth of the worker is a primary concern. This, then, would be work transvalued, work turned inside out. It is what I mean by the term post-economic work.

In an extremely affluent society of the kind that is theoretically possible in a generation or two, work might be converted from an essentially economic into an essentially psychological function.

I am, of course, also implying a devaluation of economic motivation. This sounds highly implausible today, I know, but we must remember that economics itself is a product of that desperate scarcity under which men have lived for several hundred thousand years. Economics, after all, is the science of the allocation of scarce resources. When resources are no longer scarce, all the ground rules change.

One can make an impressive case to show that some of the old urgency of economic motivation is already fading in our society. Colleges report, for example, that increasing numbers of young men are turning their backs on business careers because they want work that seems to be more fulfilling. The fact that they can make a lot of money in industry is not a sufficiently compelling reason to woo them away from other kinds of careers, since even in these they will never have to worry about meeting their basic food, clothing and shelter needs.

For a civilization still wedded to the Protestant Ethic, still legitimately nervous about the impact of nonwork, the redirection of work into noneconomic

channels might someday offer a way out of the highly structured, production-dominated work culture we know, without at the same time plunging us into an unstructured play culture.

Actually, while post-economic work in any pure sense is a long way off--if, indeed, it ever arrives--there are already primitive tendencies toward it.

Even within major corporations today we are beginning to see signs of a shift in the content of work. The forward thrust of technology is so powerful that productivity continues to rise. This masks the fact that it could be rising even more rapidly if management were more ruthlessly production-minded.

Thus, for example, we find more and more vice-presidents, consultants and staff personnel whose contributions to productivity are extremely remote or, in fact, nonexistent. Corporations employ consultants to advise them on the purchase of art and on the placement of flowers on the secretary's desk. Instead of building singlemindedly functional factories and offices, they are engaging first-rank architects such as Minuro Yamasaki, Philip Johnson and Edward Stone, to design beautiful working places. They hang Rothkos and Jackson Pollocks on the wall. They carpet the floors and air-condition the rooms.

Please do not misunderstand me. I am all in favor of such practices. We have come to expect certain amenities, certain touches of grace and charm at work, and, as affluence increases, we shall move even more in this direction. But we should not delude ourselves into believing that these practices necessarily contribute to high productivity in the economic sense.

The same is true of those work activities like the executive lunch that already represent a synthesis of work and leisure. Having attended a great many such lunches recently, I can report that they are calamitous from a caloric point of view. But they are frequently delightful in other respects. The conversation on occasion is excellent, the wine better, and sometimes, real work is accomplished. But only sometimes.

Nor is the three-martini lunch the only manifestation of the growing overlap of work and leisure. The contract signed on the golf course, the business trip that takes one to ski country, the conferences around a motel swimming pool, the evening at the theater that comes under the heading of business entertainment--all these are examples of the same thing. Only an affluent society can afford to treat work so cavalierly. For here we see work, at least in the higher reaches of the corporation, increasingly invaded by noneconomic or nonproductive elements.

There are still other ways in which modern corporations depart from tradition. They detach executives, for example, to serve on a symphony orchestra board or to head up a fund drive for a college. I believe one corporation even encourages younger men to spend a year in the Peace Corps while keeping intact their rights to fringe benefits and perquisites.

True, much of this activity is motivated by the desire to win prestige or community power for the corporation. Some of it is more altruistic. In either event, however, the contribution to old-fashioned economic productivity may be nonexistent. Rhetoric, of course, dies hard, so smart executives hesitate to admit this out loud, especially if there are stockholders around. Economic efficiency is still exalted above all, and all business decisions are justified in its name. Yet, as productivity continues to rise, part of the potential increase is milked off to support activity that is nonproductive or even antiproductive. To justify this, the memos grow longer and longer, the reasoning more tenuous. And the increasing length of the memos themselves cut into productivity. The strictly economic component of work shrinks still further.

Now let me give an even more dramatic example of the mutation of work.

The Mutation of Work

Somewhere north of the Arctic Circle a United States soldier sits alone in a bunker. This soldier is a critical part of our DEW-line--our distant early

warning defense system. Should an enemy aircraft or missile enter airspace under our observation, a blip will flash across a radar screen mounted in front of him. It is his job to watch for this signal. And so he sits endlessly watching and waiting.

In the contemporary world this ordinary soldier occupies one of the seats of power along with statesmen and generals. Negligence or erratic behavior on his part could touch off disaster. Yet his job, despite its importance, is basically boring. Since no enemy missile has been launched at us, and since we hope none ever will, in a real sense, this soldier has nothing to do. Incidentally, he is not alone. The "do-nothing" job is already to be found in the great, highly automated oil refineries and in other industries where men merely monitor machines and have no function until there is some breakdown that the machines themselves cannot repair automatically.

For this soldier, the blip, symbolically representing the presence of an intruding aircraft or missile, is a cue to push a button. The problem is that the task is terribly tedious. How do you keep a man's eyes glued to a screen when there is nothing there for him to see?

The military has devoted a great deal of attention to such questions. They have sponsored a lot of research into "vigilance," and one thing they have found it useful to do is to flash false alarms across the screen from time to time. This has the effect of keeping the soldier alert, for he cannot distinguish a false blip from a true one. He cannot tell which one represents an enemy missile streaking across our skies and which is a phony.

It is not this soldier's job to reason why. His job is to push a button when he sees a blip. A computer does the reasoning. It is so programmed that it knows which blips are real and which have been fed into the system merely to keep the soldier from relaxing his guard. Taking account of this distinction, when he pushes a button as a result of a false alarm, the computer disconnects the button without his knowing it.

Here, then, is work, the end purpose of which is not to produce a product, nor even to destroy a product, but merely to induce a certain state in the worker--in this case, a condition of alertness.

But if we know how to program a pattern of visual movements to maximize alertness, why shouldn't it be possible to accomplish other changes in the worker as well? In the case of the soldier, the psychological state we induced is intended only to make him perform his "true" work better--"true" work meaning, in this case, the nonvicarious part of his task. But why does the state or change induced in the worker have to contribute only to the so-called "true" work task? Why can it not contribute also to his overall intellectual and psychological development?

What the instance of the soldier indicates is the possibility of designing work tasks to serve the worker as well as the ultimate ends of production. And, as productivity rises and the economic component of work declines, there is time to do many things. Does the worker need or want intellectual stimulation? He can be put in touch, through tapes, screens, computerized programs and other methods, with the finest minds in the world. Does he need lively debate and discussion? The screens that surround him do not merely flash images at him, they actually respond to his actions and comments, to his mistakes, his insights, his cutting remarks.

Does he need human contact, psychological support or warmth? That, too, might be provided by intricately structuring the relationships among the workers. Time, in such a system, is no longer a significant equivalent of money. Moreover, the system can be adapted to make very fine discriminations and provide for a high degree of individual variation.

The job, in effect, could be turned into a learning experience and a means of self-development. In such an environment the term "productive" would begin to take on the meaning of self-productive or self-fulfilling.

Nor must the environment be exclusively intellectual or cerebral. If we can induce vigilance, we should also after appropriate research be able to produce other states such as serenity. Or a state of nervous sensitivity to physical stimuli. Or a state of introspection. Or a state of benignity. Or delicate self-awareness. Or a variety of states comparable to those induced by LSD--which Alan Watts, Zen philosopher, has termed "technological mysticism."

Today Zen priests and Yoga experts tell us they know how to achieve certain so-called spiritual states through physical and mental activity. This is only a short step from the use of work to create moods and psychic satisfactions of various kinds; and it will not be long before the behavioral scientists, armed with computers and other technology, will know how to program psychological states the way a composer programs music.

Work thus becomes an activity that not merely churns out vast quantities of goods and services but also entertains and educates workers, providing a variety of gratifications from the sensory to the cerebral to the psychological.

If we let our minds range, we can imagine the kinds of organizational and social changes that might follow upon the introduction of post-economic work. In the corporate hierarchy, the president would not be the horny-handed production man up from the shop, nor even the chief computer specialist. Nor would he be the financial man or marketing man. He would be drawn instead, from the ranks of the behavioral engineers, the mood programmers, the psychologists or educators.

Want ads would seek employees on the basis of the kinds of experiences the employing company could supply. Instead of merely offering hospitalization, sabbaticals and on-the-job-training, the employer might offer the best educational facilities, the most perceptive psychologists and the best sensory gratification chambers in the country.

An added fringe benefit might be a computerized consulting service that advises the individual about how the various experiences he undergoes on the job will affect him physiologically and psychologically, so that he can determine for himself the particular sequences or intensities or types of experiences to which he will be subject. After all, if work changes the worker, the worker should at least have an enlightened and scientific understanding of exactly what is happening to him. If silicosis is part of the deal a miner has to make, he should be aware of that before he reaches for his lantern. Or, to put it in a more contemporary way, if the job means ulcers, the VP ought to know that, too, before he starts.

Of course, it should be clear by now that post-economic work does not solve all our problems. Along with all its shining positive potentials, the system just described has horrifying potentials for individual freedom. For what is implied is a work system in which many advanced scientific techniques of behavior manipulation are employed. This, however, is no different from many other situations with which we are familiar. Any scientific advance can be employed in ways that conform with our belief in democracy and individualism or in ways that contradict them. It is up to those who make policy to determine the directions in which matters will go.

Post-Economic Work and The Education Industry

Post-economic work, the infusion of work with noneconomic elements, would have immense significance not merely for industry but for education, especially adult education. The corporation, as it has been described, would obviously be transformed into a new combination--part university, part entertainment palladium, part mental health clinic or church, and only in part, economic institution.

Let me note once more that the seeds of such a transformation are already present. I.B.M. today spends more than $60 million a year--more than most colleges and universities--on educational and training activities. Entertainment? Many companies operate recreational facilities for their workers, and some even

stage theatrical events to inspire their employees with what they consider the necessary esprit de corps. Mental health clinic or church? There are thousands of industrial psychologists in our corporations already.

Is the idea of work with little or no economic component ridiculous? Only if we ignore one giant industry in the United States in which this is already the case, for all intents and purposes. The goal of this industry is not to produce goods or services, but to generate changes in part of its work force. It is one of the fastest growing industries in America today; it is called education.

In education we have an industry in which millions of workers (called students) produce no direct economic output at all and aren't expected to. Instead, they are made to perform certain functions with the intention of producing in them specific abilities and values that society deems desirable.

Studying is work with the production component absent and the focus turned in on the worker.

The basic difference between education and post-economic work is that post-economic work, as I have suggested, would always have some production component, vestigial though it might be, whereas education does not.

Moreover, where education is broadly conceived, it too includes a certain amount of recreation and entertainment as well as what we used to call "character-forming" activity.

Thus, in a loose sense, I am suggesting that work and education might come more and more to resemble one another, and that, in fact, the worlds of business and education would also move closer together.

Nor must post-economic work be conceived as something that necessarily takes place on the corporate premises. The educational component of work could, if we found it effective, take place right where much of it takes place

today, on the college campus and in the home. Thus, we are likely to see a much greater expansion of continuing education programs, linked in one way or another with the individual's work and paid for by the company.

I said earlier that through post-economic work it would be possible to retain the traditional tie between work and income. The worker would be paid for the studying he does as well as for the economic work. And so, I suggest, will all students be paid for their efforts. For we will find more and more that education is the real work of society.

Adult educators in the future will find themselves working in intimate contact with corporations, either on their staffs or in a consulting relationship; and one of the essential skills will have to do with finding appropriate means for linking the educational component of work with the other components in mutually reinforcing ways.

I said earlier that I wished to hold the concept of work up to a new light and see it as future generations might.

I said, too, that I would conjecture, not commend. What I have tried to do, therefore, is not advocate policy, nor even to predict (I don't know if anything like the world of post-economic work will necessarily come to pass); I have tried rather to demonstrate that with respect to work, leisure and education, any affluent society has many, many options. To think solely in terms of a work-leisure dualism is to allow ourselves to be trapped.

To some, the idea of post-economic work may seem like a system of organized hedonism or a way of producing numb but happy automatons. Others may see it, perhaps with modifications and safeguards built in, as a desirable future. I am not here to take sides on this issue.

Nor am I here to argue that in the future "anything is possible." Not everything is possible. But the possibilities are usually wider than men dream.

If we, as educators or writers or thinkers, are to make any contribution to easing the transition to tomorrow, it can only be by imagining the widest possible range of alternatives before we choose our policies and lay our plans.

In the years ahead we can anticipate that many of our institutions will mutate into new and seemingly incredible forms. I have tried to picture only one of these. Post-economic work is only one of what Bertrand de Jouvenel calls, in his lovely phrase, our "possible futures."

PART II

Productive Living in the Society

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The Role of the Individual in Modern Society

Van R. Potter

How can we in the University system help to develop a society in which individuals are able to live happy and productive lives? This question can also be examined from the standpoint of the individual member of society. What can the individual member of society do to insure himself a happy and productive life? At this point we may as well state the underlying assumption that this recurring phrase "happy and productive" will be used repetitiously and without further defense. We will not assume the burden of trying to prove that a human life can be happy and unproductive, and we would be willing to concede that a life can be productive without being happy all of the time. We will assume that there is some kind of a linkage between the concepts of happy and productive and leave the documentation to the psychiatrists.

My recent work has involved oscillating biochemical systems in experimental animals, and I am inclined to believe that life in whatever form is never in a completely steady state. Perpetual happiness is psychologically impossible; what we should aim for is a kind of happiness in which we oscillate between states of satisfaction and states of dissatisfaction in what might be called a "continual revision of our on-going intentions." A happy and productive life is certainly one in which physiological and mental health is as near optimum as possible, but I would like to express the opinion that medical science has thus far not penetrated very deeply into the question of what constitutes an optimum

environment for the human species. It will be one of the themes of this paper that an optimum environment is not one which presents a fixed temperature, a constant food supply, and freedom from manual labor. Rather, it is an environment which requires the utilization of the adaptive powers of the individual members of the species, both at the physiological and the psychological level.

Elsewhere I have attempted to define an optimum environment as one which "induces each individual to develop continually from birth to death as a result of systematic challenges by physical and mental tasks which elicit normal adaptive responses within his rapidly increasing and eventually declining capabilities." [1] In the present context I would say that this aspect of an optimum environment would in my opinion help achieve the goal of a happy and productive life, but we have to qualify the word "productive." I should say that no life is productive unless it contributes to the welfare of others, in the family, in a group, in the community, or in the context of the nation or of mankind. A productive life is one that involves a sense of commitment which may be fulfilled in many ways, including commitment to a search for principles that may not be utilized until some distant future.

In Table I, I have listed seven different categories that I consider important in the human environment. These are advanced as goals that organized society should strive to provide for every individual member of society and as principles that should be taught to individuals during their development.

Table I. How to Define an Optimum Environment.

1. Basic needs that can be satisfied by effort.
2. Freedom from toxic chemicals, unnecessary trauma and preventable disease.
3. A respect for sound ecological principles with a long-range point of view.
4. Adaptive responses in each individual, continually from birth to death, as a result of systematic challenges by physical and mental tasks which come at appropriate times and are within individual capabilities, which increase rapidly at certain periods and decline later.
5. Individual happiness that involves oscillation between satisfaction and dissatisfaction, with a sustained sense of identity despite a continual revision of on-going intentions.
6. Productivity that directly or indirectly involves commitment to other members of society.

7. A continual search for beauty and order that does not deny the role of individuality and disorder.

I would like to state that at this time I have serious doubts as to whether the individual can do very much to insure himself a happy and productive life after a certain age has been reached.[2] I mean that by the time an individual is able to ask the question it may be too late for him to change his attitudes and value systems. I suspect that the individual is not equipped by instinct to choose either an optimum environment or a course of action that will lead to a happy and productive life in this modern world. The question we are all concerned with assumes that the individual can be taught how to cope constructively with the vicissitudes of modern life if the teaching comes early enough in life and if the vicissitudes are not overwhelming. We are all somewhat appalled by the thought that there may be severe limitations on the teaching process as the child approaches adolescence and in the post-adolescent years, yet the whole anti-poverty program and the goals of the "great society" have to be approached as if no one ever reached an age when he is incapable of learning to change basic attitudes.

Thus, we have the practical problem of dealing with individuals who may have become fixed in their outlook and hence have difficulty in learning new attitudes, and the theoretical problem of what might be done under ideal conditions if the teaching process could be started at birth. In either case, I believe that the dialogue between the various biological specialities and the humanities has been inadequate and that our discourse on the questions of the present symposium can only be superficial until we have had much more opportunity to hear each other's viewpoints on certain fundamentals.

In this presentation I shall approach the subject mainly as a scientist who is attempting to encompass the reductionist approaches of the molecular biologist and the holistic approaches of the organismic physiologist. This professional role is a natural outgrowth of my academic obligation, which has been to pursue

cancer research according to my own best judgment for over 25 years. This preoccupation with the cancer problem undoubtedly accounts for my gradual enlargement of horizons to the larger philosophical problems of the meaning of human suffering and the role of science in society.

On an earlier occasion I raised the question: "How can science contribute to the betterment of the human condition?" and proposed that: "The most important contribution science can make to society is to increase the degree of sophistication [insight] with which mankind perceives 'order' and 'disorder.'"[3] In this paper I shall persist in defending that viewpoint, taking the position that until modern society as a whole and the individual members of society can achieve a better understanding of the nature of man and the nature of the world, we shall be almost hopelessly handicapped in attempting to write prescriptions for happy and productive lives in the modern world. Yet we in the cancer field have not abandoned "courage" as the priceless ingredient that has to substitute for knowledge when ignorance is still overwhelming; there is no reason why educators should not follow the same rule.

The Nature of Man and His Ideas

If we are to talk about productive living for the individual, it may be worthwhile for me as a scientist to take the extreme view that man is a purely physical-chemical mechanism in which purposeful behavior is brought about by the natural selection of feedback mechanisms that in the past have proved effective in the relationship between the human species and its external environment. The fact that man now exists as a member of society and that his environment is largely determined by the cultural context in which he lives[4] does not alter the fact that man is basically a cybernetic machine with molecular mechanisms for continuously reading the environment and responding with behavior that is partly instinctive and partly learned, and partly disordered in both of these categories.

I think that most people rebel at the idea of man as a machine because they at once form a mental image of an automaton, in which the responses are

fixed. But I am convinced that the phenomenon of man can only be understood in terms of a multifeedback mechanism in which there is a certain amount of built-in disorder--an idea which may be as repugnant as that of an automaton. However, I think that it is the possibility of partly random response that gives man his freedom and at the same time makes cultural evolution possible.

Just as an understanding of the relationship of disorder to order is essential to the understanding of biological evolution, I maintain that cultural evolution comes about because of the built-in disorder in our mental processes (Fig. 1).[5]

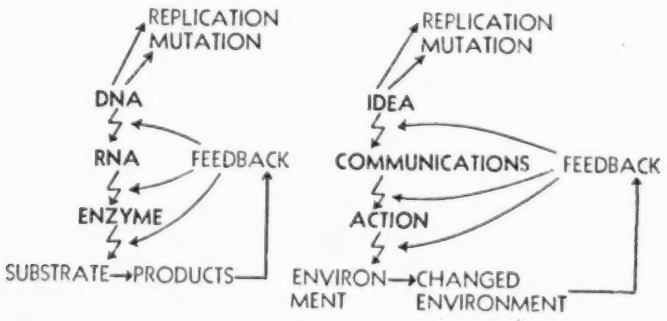

Fig. 1. The informational analogy between the basic unit of biological evolution (DNA, shown on the left) and the basic unit of cultural evolution (Idea, shown on the right).[5]

If the DNA molecules that constitute our genetic makeup were replicated with no error and passed from generation to generation without reshuffling the contributions from the respective parents, there could be no biological evolution. Ideas are to cultural evolution what DNA molecules are to biological evolution. They are the basic unit of information and as such are subject to mutation, recombination, replication and expression. Tools and other material things are ideas in physical form. If every student or every child or every citizen were to store every idea and play it back exactly as it was given to him, there would be no cultural evolution. But because every concept, every image, every abstraction that enters our minds is subject to both conscious and unconscious modifications in which random copy errors play a part, there is a continual production of new raw material to be subjected to the process of natural selection

by which cultural evolution takes place. Ideas never arise de novo. Each new idea is always a modification, a recombination, an analogy, a new combination of parts or some other synthesis from previously available images that have been recorded in the brain presumably by processes involving intermolecular recognition.[6] Great ideas are not chronologically predictable. They may be inevitable, but they cannot be called forth on demand. I maintain that ideas, whether they occur in the mind of a scientist, poet or politician, involve not only the raw material and the motivation but also the phenomenon of the built-in margin of copy error or random reshuffling that is constantly a feature of the brain.[7] According to Livingston,[3] the central nervous system contains some 10 billion neurons; there are only 1.7 million afferent neurons, about two-thirds of which are accounted for by the optic nerves alone. There are only about 250,000 neurons which leave the central nervous system to command all of our visceral and bodily performances. Thus there are roughly 5000 internal neurons for each neuron that enters or leaves the central nervous system, and each of them has some degree of spontaneous activity.[7] These elementary facts imply that information entering the system comes into relation with the direct or indirect influence of a very large population of spontaneously active central neurons. "Evidently, then, no stimulus can enter upon a tabular rasa."[7] These considerations seem to me to lend support to my suggestion that new ideas involve processes containing a certain amount of built-in indeterminacy or chance.[9, 10]

The most amazing feature of the spontaneous idea is the feeling of euphoria that accompanies the moment of illumination.[10] Archimedes was undoubtedly not the first to say, "Eureka, I have found it!" although he is certainly the most quoted. But the merit of an idea is not measured by how good it makes one feel. We can be just as happy with an incorrect idea as with a correct one if we have no way to tell the difference. As scientists, we learn that a new idea must be tested and rejected or shelved if the experiments go against it. Few indeed are the scientists who can say as Einstein did, "Tell them to repeat their experiments" when the data do not agree with the idea.

When we leave the realm of science and come to the poets and politicians, the test of an idea is its acceptability. This test, as Galbraith[11] has pointed out, is always based on the conventional wisdom of the time and place, and the march of events is continually modifying conventional wisdom. There is a process of natural selection of ideas in cultural evolution just as there is a natural selection of DNA molecules in biological evolution. Many will wonder whether this analogy can be used to argue that good ideas and good DNA molecules are assured of survival. The answer is no. This can be an interesting topic for extended discussion, but I believe it can be understood more readily if we realize that natural selection in either case is based upon short term considerations rather than on long term considerations. There is a fatal flaw in the vital machinery of evolution, and it arises from the fact that the process makes its value judgments as to what is good on the basis of only two parameters: (1) survival to the point of reproductive success, and (2) survival in terms of the present environment. Thus in terms of the first point, fatal diseases that occur only after the period of reproductive activity are not easily eliminated by natural selection unless they affect the survival of the tribe. In the second instance, natural selection is incapable of seeing into the future, and as each species becomes genetically adapted to a special environment, it becomes increasingly vulnerable to a change in environment so that extinction without issue has been the fate of most species.

In the case of cultural evolution, an idea is usually judged in terms of the present and not in terms of the future. Only the combined intellects from many disciplines will be able to try to assess the ideas that will best chart the course of mankind through an environment that is undergoing unparalleled cultural and physical changes. Only man has the capacity to think about the future, and only man has the power to take steps to prevent his own extinction. But at the moment, no one can say whether these powers can be mobilized soon enough. The best prescription that can be made at present is to recommend open-ended solutions that can avoid the dead-end pathways of overspecialization.

Application

If our interpretation of man as a cybernetic machine with instinctive and acquired feedback responses--plus a certain degree of random or unpredictable response--has any validity, it must have a profound meaning for our image of ourselves and of our neighbors and of the relationship between individuals and society.

For ourselves, we can feel that we are not automatons with no escape from a predetermined fate. On the other hand, the free will that we possess is subject to considerable constraint. We can get new ideas but they will be conditioned by the raw material that goes into the process, and the ideas we get will not necessarily be correct. We must test our ideas and submit them to the tests imposed by others. But we can take satisfaction from knowing that we are biologically unique and culturally unique and that we can make unique contributions in two ways: we can specialize to the point where we do experiments that no one else in the world has ever done, and we can develop knowledge that can be tested within a specified operational framework and confirmed by others. Or we can widen our horizons and interact at the interdisciplinary level and attempt to develop wisdom, which I define as the knowledge of how to use knowledge for action or decision-making. I believe that it is possible and desirable to combine both functions, but I admit that the top level specialists cannot devote very much time to matters outside their specialty. Moreover, it seems difficult to obtain fruitful interdisciplinary discussions unless the various disciplines are represented by people who have mastered the discipline they represent. In either case, we as individuals, whether as specialists or as educated citizens in a decision-making process, must develop the humility to realize that when we deal with ideas involving action and other people, we must be able to listen as well as to advocate. We must look upon all ideas as tentative and subject to test. We must realize that there is a difference between ideas that apply to ourselves alone and ideas that we feel should be applied to others.

For our neighbors, we should be able to develop tolerance for occasional irrational behavior. We should understand the momentary enthusiasm for a new idea and should not discourage its exposition. Questions that lead to new ideas should be propounded.

For society, the problem is one of recognizing and utilizing the resources represented by the interdisciplinary group and of encouraging individual participation in interdisciplinary groups at all levels of action. There has been a tendency for the problems of society to be turned over to small panels of technical experts who are all indoctrinated with the same point of view and who have all been trained in the same discipline. Many of the current problems of urban society and of widespread pollution may be due to the failure of our society to give sufficient thought to the development of wisdom that could encompass the consequences of our expanding technology. How can society develop the wisdom needed to deal with its problems? I believe that a wider participation in the discussion process by representatives of various disciplines is needed, while at the same time more individuals need to be trained in specific skills that each discipline represents. Fortunately, there is a growing tendency for the formation of broad interdisciplinary panels. One example is seen in the report of the Environmental Pollution Panel of The President's Science Advisory Committee (November 1965: "Restoring the Quality of the Environment").

For the discussion of the role of the individual and his participation in interdisciplinary groups, I have prepared a chart on "Decision-Making in a Free Society" (Fig. 2), which includes my ideas on the role of disorder in both the external and internal worlds. I have used the concept of the "free experiment" to indicate an unplanned circumstance that leads to a result that can be evaluated. Certain historians have referred to the existence of two theories of history: the "confusion" theory and the "conspiracy" theory. My concept of the "free experiment" is a further development of the "confusion" theory. That is, certain things just happen without plan (as demanded by the conspiracy theory), but having

happened, the events are just as available for evaluation as if they were planned. The figure also indicates the individual as a biased feedback mechanism that is trying to close the gap between its actions and its intentions. Finally, group decisions as the resultant of individual vectors are indicated.

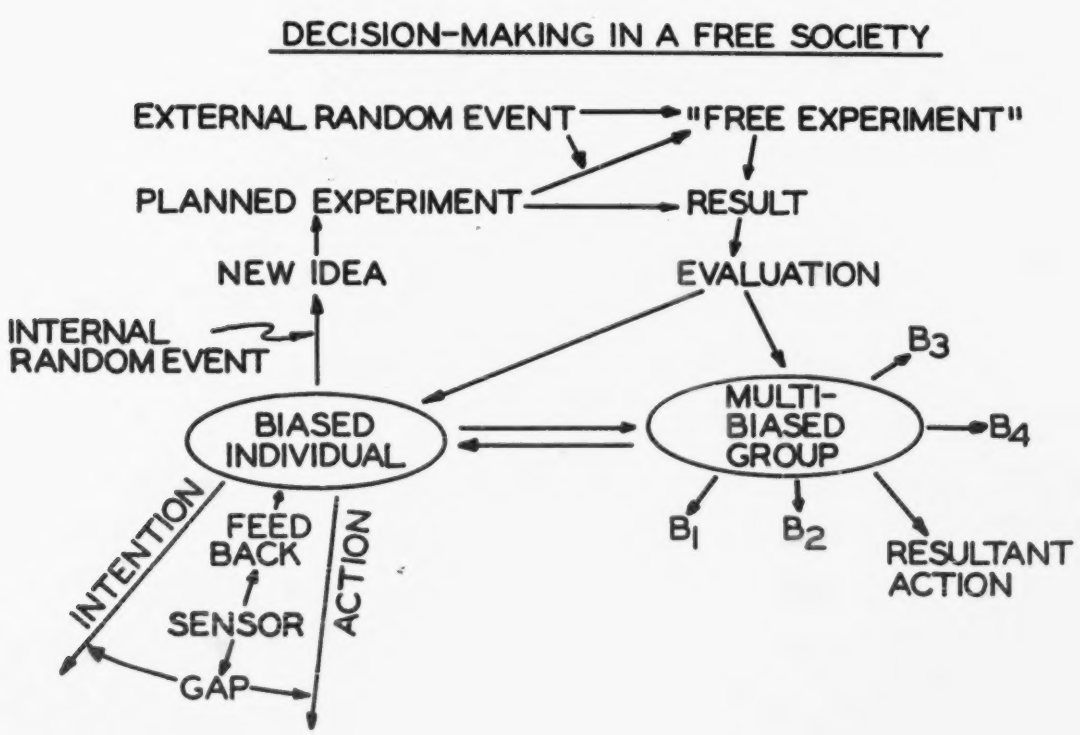

Fig. 2. The concept of random events as components of cultural evolution.

It is my contention that the "free experiment" is the escape hatch from any predetermined fate and that the result of a "free experiment" can break through the bias of the individual in two ways: (1) It can be so overwhelming that it overcomes all bias, or (2) it can be incapable of overcoming certain individual biases but capable of overcoming others; hence, in any evaluation by a diversified group, there will be a greater chance of overcoming the bias factor.

Adaptation

Up to this point we have said very little about the basic problem of productive living for the individual although I indicated at the outset that the adaptive

powers of the individual should be called upon. By adaptation I do not mean conformity. Conformity is that state of affairs in which the individual has adapted to the status quo and after that no further effort is required. Society has traditionally exerted pressure on its members, forcing conformity to certain norms that require adaptation on the part of individuals. This adaptation has considerable advantage if it can result in the release of energy for exploration of new modes of thought and action. However, very little has been done to consider ideal goals which modern society might set up (other than materialistic goals) or to the methods by which society might influence individuals to exercise their adaptive powers, while at the same time encouraging creative ability and a free society.

A basic problem that needs further study is this: the individual appears ill-equipped by instinct to select an optimum environment for himself. Each of us has to be indoctrinated by society to get more exercise than we choose voluntarily, to eat less than our appetites demand, to learn new skills, to carry extra loads and to develop interests outside of ourselves.

William James as long ago as 1890 said, "Keep the faculty of effort alive in you by a little gratuitous exercise every day. That is, be systematically ascetic or heroic in little unnecessary points, do every day or two something for no other reason than that you would rather not do it, so that when the hour of dire need draws nigh, it may find you not unnerved and untrained to stand the test." A similar thought was expressed by Thomas Henry Huxley in 1877 when he said, "Perhaps the most valuable result of all education is the ability to make yourself do the thing you have to do, when it ought to be done, whether you like it or not; it is the first lesson that ought to be learned; and however early a man's training begins, it is probably the last lesson that he learns thoroughly."

These ideas are now believed to be old-fashioned, but I believe that with newer developments in molecular biology and physiology we will come to appreciate their meaning with relevance to the productive living that concerns this conference.

Somehow we have to learn why it is that the rat or human will eat more and exercise less than is good for him, and probably think less if given the opportunity.

The answer lies in the understanding of man and rat as feedback-controlled machines that were designed to be able to adapt to an economics of scarcity. The difference between simple cause and effect and a feedback-controlled machine is that the latter is constantly measuring its output and regulating its production according to the amount of product. Now if we introduce the product from the surrounding environment, the organism will shut down the production machinery, while if we decrease the amount of product, the organism will adapt by increasing its production machinery. That is, if an organism can adapt to a given situation, by the same process it can deadapt if the need is met through an outside source. So what happens if all the immediate needs of an organism are met from the outside? The answer is that there will be a rapid weakening of the organism's physiological capacities.

Recently we set up experiments with rats to determine whether we could develop animals that were superior to the ordinary laboratory rat, which is the epitome of the organism with all its needs provided. We reasoned that the process of natural selection has developed rats that desire food every night, but it has also developed rats that will survive if they don't find food every night. That is, they can go hungry one of every two nights and still survive. We provided food for 12 hours on every other night and provided voluntary exercise wheels. On the nights that no food was available, the rats traveled an average of 15 kilometers. The combination of exercise and restricted feeding time resulted in rats that weighed 225 grams in comparison with 325 grams for the rats that had food available at all times. Biochemical studies showed that the rats that fasted periodically were undergoing marked swings in enzyme activity corresponding to the alterations in fasting and feeding.[12] Studies elsewhere showed

that rats of similar weight on low calorie diets lived longer and had much lower incidence of cancer than control rats.

Of the rats which were allowed access to food for only 8 hours out of each 48, nearly all died within a week when they had exercise cages available, while none died if housed in their usual cages. That is, when the animals were given an opportunity to react instinctively, the drive to search for food resulted in an expenditure of energy in excess of what could be stored in the period available. Thus in two examples, the animals' instinctive reactions misled them. In the one case they overeat; in the other case they overexercise. These interpretations are, of course, going beyond the bare facts of the experiments and are subject to further discussion. Nevertheless, I would like to see what might be done with human volunteers who might wish to control obesity with a combination of exercise and periodic fasting.

The concept of optimum stressor level as a necessary component of an optimum environment has apparently not been extensively studied from a biochemical standpoint, and I am not familiar with the psychological literature. There is on this campus a new curriculum in Environmental Design. Interaction with that group may lead to new proposals on the subject of optimal stressor levels alternating with periods that are not stressful.

The concept of an optimum environment as one that includes a demand for physiological and psychological adaptation and a respect for biological rhythms also interacts with programs in education, recreation and leisure time. I wish to raise the question of how to develop programs to test the proposition that happy and productive lives will be more likely if adaptive functions are called upon at levels appropriate to the individual. Much has been left unsaid about goals and values, but it is implicit that my concept of "happy and productive" includes the idea of contribution to the welfare of others in the family, the community and to society as a whole, depending on the capacity of the individual.

Human Welfare

There is a curious relationship between the concept of an optimum environment in which the individual is exercising his full capacity and the concept of brotherly love which calls for support of the weak. The relationship is resolved by stating that all efforts to promote human welfare should bear in mind that too much support will make the recipient weaker instead of stronger. Every support program should be designed to restore function and to build up adaptive capacity. Such programs may be more expensive in the beginning, but in the long run they will prove superior.

Conclusion

In this discussion I have not considered specific issues such as international relations and cultural arts. These omissions were necessary because of the assigned scope of the paper.

I have emphasized the concept of a happy and productive life as one which utilizes the physiological and psychological adaptive powers of each individual and which contributes to the welfare of other members of society.

The individual human has been characterized as a special kind of a machine whose activities are based on multichannel feedback relationships with the environment and whose responses include a certain built-in irrationality. Thus the individual behavior, though inherently based on feedback loops, was suggested to be partly instinctive, partly learned and partly disordered (random, unpredictable or irrational).

The inclusion of the built-in factor of unpredictability was related to the "confusion" theory of history, and was regarded as the basis of the unplanned or "free-experiment" which, in turn, provided for further cultural evolution despite the limitations of the biased individual. Group consideration by individuals having divergent biases was suggested as an essential device for overcoming individual bias.

Welfare programs based on the concept of brotherly love were considered good if they developed strength in the recipients and bad if they resulted in further deterioration. Modern knowledge of physiological and psychological adaptative functions should be expanded and applied.

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   "It may be that a descent to a noise level, to a level of indeterminacy, would be meaningless unless, and this is important, such 'noise' takes place within a system that is controlling its own input and output."
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Leisure and Meaningful Living

Lawrence L. Suhm

The topic chosen for this conference implies at least two important suppositions about our society. One is that we place some kind of value on productive living as opposed to nonproductive living; the other is that we have reached a point in our social development which calls for a reexamination of what productive living means.

Defining the Problem

The problem of defining productive living is certainly not peculiar either to our age or to our society. Throughout history men and nations have had to determine, in the light of existing conditions, which activities or styles of life were to be considered worthwhile, meaningful and significant. Honors and rewards have always been bestowed upon those individuals who best exemplified productive living as defined in a particular time and place. Such definitions have included killing the greatest number of the enemy, conquering the largest amount of land, playing the most beautiful music, building the biggest tomb, climbing the highest mountain, paddling the fastest canoe or carrying the heaviest load. It is difficult to think of societies that have rewarded the killing of the least number of the enemy, conquering the smallest amount of land, playing the ugliest music, building the smallest tomb or climbing the shortest mountain. In other words, most all societies tend to reward productive living in terms of socially accepted, successful expenditures of time and energy. Individual concepts

of productive living are largely determined by the society and are imparted to citizens through formal and informal education.

Thus, we find different cultures imparting varying messages about the consistency of productive living. For example, a University of Illinois professor of recreation writes:

> It is difficult to imagine anyone being happy without work. ... Work carries with it the feelings of purposefulness and usefulness which are so indispensable to our self-respect.[1]

At the same time the Haitian youth is learning such homilies as, "If work were a good thing, the rich would have grabbed it all long ago,"[2] and the Brazilian is taught that "He who works has no time to earn money."

While the Uruguayan was being told by one of his nation's leaders that "A man, because of the effects of work, no matter what the nature of the work, should not be submitted to another man but eight hours,"[3] the Americans were being told by one of their leaders of industry that "Any man demanding the 40-hour work week should be ashamed to claim citizenship in this great country."[4]

The historical development of America's traditional concepts of productive living is a lengthy and complicated story. But, without going into details, it should be clear to all of us that productive living is closely associated in our minds with the economically productive contributions each of us is able to make, whether in the home, the office, the farm or the factory. The schools, the churches, the government and the mass media have all made significant contributions in successfully instilling this economic concept of productive living.

Identifying Problems

If we all agree on what productive living consists of, then what is the problem? Why should we be concerned? Why are we even discussing concepts of productive living?

The answer to these questions is in the title of this conference: the concepts are changing. They are changing, not necessarily because the people want them to, but rather because rapid developments in our society and its institutions are forcing the changes. It is our job as adult educators to understand those developments and to help people to either adjust to the changes or try to shape them.

Our first task then is to try to understand the forces that bring about the need for changed concepts of productive living.

One of the most important changes for us as adult educators to comprehend, is the radical developments that have taken place with respect to production-oriented labor. For the first time in the history of our civilization it is within our means to free virtually our entire population from the necessity of toilsome labor. The marriage of the machine with the computer, it has been said, will make it possible by the end of this century to produce all the goods and services required for our citizens with the labor of only 2 percent of the population. And not long ago, Gerhard Piel, publisher of Scientific American, wrote that our farm production is already so high that "the output at the farm is equivalent of 12,000 calories per day for each man, woman and child in the land, enough to feed one billion people."[5] This production was achieved with less than 7 percent of the U.S. labor force engaged in agriculture.

The most direct and immediate result of cybernation and increased productivity is a shift in human time and energy expenditure. One estimate is that 40,000 jobs per week are lost due to automation. No estimate I have seen tells us how many new jobs are created, but, in any case, there are major and widespread changes in the way people spend their time and energy. Some of the changes are manifested in unemployment, layoffs, elimination of overtime, earlier retirement, longer vacations, delayed entry into the labor force, increased years of schooling and the development of new kinds of job-creating programs such as

the Job Corps, VISTA, the Peace Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and Manpower Development and Training Programs.

While the list of such shifts and changes is impressive in itself, we learn nothing from such a listing about the human problems related to them--especially for those individuals whose experience and education has left them unprepared to adapt to change readily. For such individuals the loss of principal occupation, even if only temporary, is a traumatic experience. Neither the individual nor the society has been adequately prepared to accept very many nonwork alternatives as satisfactory definitions of productive living in our society.

Let me illustrate this point with exerpts from two letters I have received from retired persons. One gentleman from Cumberland, Wis., writes:

> After having been actively engaged in striving to earn a living and then becoming very old, helpless and useless, a person becomes very lonely, sad and miserable when enclosed in a rest home. He may have the best of care, but will not receive much pleasure, and will wait and long for death to arrive so as to be free from mental agony.

Another letter from a former professional musician reads:

> Doctor tells me that in ten months or so, if I don't get fresh air and some exercise, I will slowly pass in to the invalid stage. He suggests three things. Ride bike, horse, and swim. There is no pool here; roads are crowded by students who think little of human life, some drunks, and too many cars. Walking is even a hazard.
>
> I don't know where to turn. I tried the church. I was pushed aside by a minister in Omaha, and the one here with whom I have talked is a fine person, musical, but he (I think) doesn't know what to do or say.

Illustrated here are some serious personal problems in making adjustments to new concepts of productive living after the principal occupations have ceased. Both these individuals suggested that death was very much on their minds as the simplest solution to the mental agony of meaningless existence.

This problem is certainly not confined to the aged and the retired either. Betty Friedan in her book, The Feminine Mystique, comments upon the fact that

numerous studies revealed that American housewives were spending almost as many or more hours on housework as housewives 30 years earlier, in spite of modern equipment and easier-to-clean homes. The author concludes that "after all, with no other purpose in her life, if the housework were done in an hour, and the children off to school, the bright, energetic housewife would find the emptiness of her days unbearable."[6]

It would be easy to go on citing the examples of groups and individuals who have failed to find satisfying roles within the meaning of society's definition of productive living. I suggest that what is needed is a massive educational program to redefine productive living in terms that are more in accord with today's conditions and requirements.

Present Solutions: Pitfalls and Failures

Among the conditions causing alarm and concern both to educators and to governmental policy planners is that of the cybernetics revolution--a revolution which is being purposefully slowed down because of the difficulties of adjusting to a situation in which automatically-controlled machines are taking over more and more of the traditionally human tasks and responsibilities. "What to do with the people" is the big question coming out of the cybernetics revolution.

One of the greatest dangers growing out of the revolution in cybernetics is that, as a society, we may decide to divide our population into two groups--the producers and the consumers. The producers would have the jobs, control the cybernetic machinery, and, consequently, control the economic and political power. The consumers--that is, the youth, the unemployed, housewives, and retired people--would receive an amount sufficient to meet their daily needs and provide a sufficient amount to keep them amused and entertained.

I suggest that our society has already gone a long way down the road in the direction described. The Secretary of Labor has already recommended adding two years to the free education system, making education compulsory to age

18. In his own words, "This move would eliminate about 2 million of the 3.5 million teenagers (14-19) currently in the working force. I do not think most of those 3.5 million ought to be there."

Trends toward earlier retirement are shoving increasing millions out of the labor force at the other end of the age scale. The United Auto Workers recently won a contract calling for retirement at age 55 with $400 per month income. Steps are taken for assurance that retirees will not take jobs after retirement. And our whole social security system as well as our public welfare system militates against people trying to improve their conditions of living through partial or full-time employment. Penalties are imposed upon the diligent, the highly motivated and the industrious.

The unemployed have similar difficulties in improving their conditions in life. Unemployment compensation laws are designed to suppress any incentive the unemployed worker might have to search for a job in another city or state or even to go to school to try to learn another job. I understand that an unemployed auto worker in Racine, Wis., must literally have the approval of the governor of the state to attend a University School for Workers program without losing unemployment benefits.

Housewives constitute another large group that is effectively kept from developing new patterns of productive living. Employers discourage part-time employment; the universities, for the most part, discourage enrollment on a part-time basis and few communities offer a good variety of evening adult classes; elementary school schedules so fragment the day that a housewife has little chance to develop meaningful pursuits outside the home. If any of you have ever attempted to break down any of these institutional barriers to active participation by housewives, you know that they are deeply entrenched.

The removal of retired persons from opportunities for productive living is perhaps the most serious of all, since there are even fewer social roles available

to them than there are for youth or housewives. Some 10 percent of the population is over 65 years of age, the normal retirement age; and retirement is coming earlier and earlier.

A major social development in recent years is the isolation of retired persons in retirement cities. Recently, I visited a place called Leisure World in New Jersey, one of six such retirement cities in the United States. The Leisure World I saw was designed for 50,000 residents, all of whom must be at least 52 years of age. It has one of the most complete recreational developments I have ever seen, including golf course, swimming pool, theater, arts and crafts rooms, billiards rooms, and dance halls. One of the staff members told me that one of the serious problems with these retirement utopias is that after about two years the residents begin to get bored with all the fun and games and that they want to have an environment which offers something of greater depth and meaning.

The point I wish to make with these several examples is that because of developments in technology, we are making decisions and establishing institutions and passing legislation which in effect keep increasingly large numbers of our citizens from active participation in the processes which shape and give meaning to their lives.

The free time which could mean so much to the person who is truly free hangs heavy on the housewife who can't get out of the home to go to school, or the retiree isolated in a sterile unchallenging environment or forced to live on a bare subsistence retirement income, or the unemployed worker forced to stay put in order to collect his unemployment check.

What happens to all the time freed by the various devices mentioned? Diary studies show that more than half of all adult free time is consumed in watching television, some 18 to 20 hours per week; another 6 hours goes for reading, mostly newspapers and magazines; a similar amount is spent in visiting friends and relatives. Only about 10 percent of all free time is used for all other

out-of-home leisure-time activities including going to church, attending club meetings, going to the tavern, attending and participating in sports events, and participating in community civic and welfare activities.

What opportunities for productive living are there in these kinds of uses of leisure time? What opportunities are there for the kind of productivity defined in Dr. Potter's paper as contributing to the welfare of others--in the family, in a group, in the community, or in the context of the nation or of mankind?

Alternatives

We have a long way to go before we achieve the kinds of optimal environments Dr. Potter described. Indeed, as he pointed out, we are just beginning to get some clues as to the consistency of an optimal environment. But we can strike a note of optimism by pointing out that some of our leaders in government are beginning to recognize the need to protect, develop and create the kinds of environments required for a more effective utilization of human capacities. Recently, Governor Knowles of Wisconsin in an address at the State Conference on Aging called for "the creation of total environments in which individuals can discover, experiment with, learn, practice and exercise those pursuits in which they find meaning, purpose and satisfaction."[7]

Dr. Potter stated as one of the themes of his presentation that an optimum environment is not one which presents a fixed temperature, a constant food supply and freedom from manual labor. I thoroughly agree with this view, and our studies at the Center for Leisure Resources Development are uncovering some evidence to support this idea that the pattern for a productive and happy existence for the human species must include the continual development of new capacities and the opportunity to exercise them. Lifelong education must provide the former and increased leisure will provide the latter.

The main problem retired people, housewives, and some youth have in adjusting to leisure in our society is that leisure has been associated either with

idleness or with aimless fun and games. It has also been thought to be opposed to work. Nothing could be more erroneous or more dangerous to our civilization than the perpetuation of these false concepts about leisure.

It will be one of the great discoveries of our age that leisure is a condition in which time and energy are freed for the development and exercise of human capacities. Opposed to leisure are those conditions and activities which inhibit and restrict the development and exercise of man's capacities.

We have found in our studies of leisure time among housewives, that they say that they have no leisure time. This, despite the fact that diary studies show they have an average of about 35 hours of free time per week. The problem is that these housewives are apparently unable to utilize their capacities in satisfying ways because of the restrictions imposed by the environment of their homes. Free time for these people is apparently not the same as leisure. Leisure required the freedom to exercise one's capacities. Thus, we say that people confined to prisons or hospitals have free time, but we can hardly say they have leisure.

In his presentation, Dr. Potter alluded to man's capacity to adapt or de-adapt to environmental conditions. In one of his writings he says, "When we carry a heavy load, our ability to carry loads increases, but the corollary is that when we have no loads to carry, our ability to carry loads decreases."[8]

The psychologist A.H. Maslow has said basically the same thing, calling attention as well to the consequences of failure to exercise our physical and mental capacities. He writes:

> Capacities clamor to be used, and cease their clamor only when they are well used. That is, capacities are also needs. Not only is it fun to use our capacities, but it is also necessary. The unused capacity or organ can become a disease center or else atrophy, thus diminishing the person.[9]

We are beginning to gather some fairly solid evidence concerning the scientific validity of these concepts. That is, we are finding that human beings deteriorate physically and mentally, not so much from excessive use any more, but from lack of use of organs and capacities.

This strongly suggests that what we need to do in an age of diminishing obligatory work, based on survival necessities, is to find appropriate and adequate substitutes for the use of rapidly expanding human capacities.

In recent years widespread publicity has been given to proposals that would either provide a guaranteed annual income to everyone, whether they worked or not, or would provide for a negative income tax to support those whose incomes fell below a certain amount.

While such ideas seem economically feasible in our affluent society, they make no provision for utilizing the time and energies of those freed from toil. The amounts of guaranteed income to be provided are at a bare subsistence level. Consequently, these proposals not only eliminate a large sector of the population from participating as producers in the economy but they also fail to provide either for the development or utilization of the time and energy that are freed from productive labor. Furthermore, these plans would result in obligating the productive members of society to the production of food and fiber for all the nonproductive members.

Just yesterday, in a discussion of these proposals with a faculty colleague, this person said that he now pays the equivalent of five months of his annual income in various kinds of local, federal and state taxes. Admittedly, not a large percentage of his taxes now goes toward the support of unemployed persons, but the point is that many of the very people who could benefit most and contribute the most to society through increased leisure time are the very ones who are getting the least of it. Under the guaranteed income plans these same individuals

would be working even longer and harder to pay the costs of supporting those whom we are systematically eliminating from productive roles in society.

As an alternative to these plans I have prepared, and expect to have published, a proposal to provide and finance a program of scheduled, release-time opportunities for the entire labor force. Under provisions of this plan, employed persons would earn time off from their jobs in addition to regular vacations. The amount of leave time earned would be three days per month at the beginning but would be adjusted later on in accordance with the amount of unemployment among the labor force. Financing of the plan would be through a system of equal contributions by employees, employers and the federal government at the rate of one hour's pay per week. The effect of the plan would be that all employed persons would share in the increased leisure and the wealth created by technological developments. Individuals could choose to use their accumulated paid leave time to return to school, to take extended vacations, to seek and train for new jobs or to retire earlier than normal if they so desired. With millions of employed persons on temporary leave from their jobs, it can be expected that millions of new job opportunities would be opened for the unemployed, for young people, for housewives or for retired persons who might want to return to work. A further result of the plan would be that there would be a tremendous demand created for products and services designed to meet the leisure-time needs of the population.

With all members of the labor force sharing in the increased leisure time, new interest would be created in the problems associated with productive living with leisure, new kinds of leisure life-styles would be created and, finally, the resources of government, of the schools and of our social institutions would be turned toward the creative use of leisure time.

One of the most significant and far-reaching discoveries that we are making through our efforts at the Center for Leisure Resources Development is that leisure and work are completely compatible and are, in fact, both improved when

they occur together. If there is a problem of leisure, it is as Hannah Arendt points out the problem of how to provide enough opportunity for daily exhaustion to keep the capacity for consumption intact.[10] In her book, The Human Condition, Miss Arendt has written, "There is no lasting happiness outside the prescribed cycle of painful exhaustion and pleasurable regeneration, and whatever throws this cycle out of balance--poverty and misery where exhaustion is followed by wretchedness instead of regeneration, or great riches and an entirely effortless life where boredom takes the place of exhaustion and where the mills of necessity, of consumption and digestion, grind an impotent human body mercilessly and barrenly to death--ruins the elemental happiness that comes from being alive."[11]

Such a statement is certainly in accord with what I have tried to present in my paper, and it seems to support strongly some of the points made by Dr. Potter in his paper. While we may not be able to peer into the future to identify the kinds of concepts of productive living that may come into being, we seem to be able to achieve some measure of agreement about what some of the basic components of a productive life should be.

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PART III

Productive Living in the Community

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Social Change, Conflict and Growth Potential in the Modern Community

Frank P. Zeidler

How does one live productively in the modern community?

Here is an answer which appeared recently in a mimeographed sheet entitled the Milwaukee ADA Voice. The writer is the Rev. Robert Hoyt, a Lutheran clergyman: "Three revolutions have forced a new stance in ethics-cybernation which has made the possession of goods as a status symbol meaningless, thus making possible economic decisions reflecting a concern for all mankind--rather simply, self-interest.

"The weapons revolution has made the use of war idiotic as a means of solving conflict, for all that could be gained would be total obliteration of civilization. The urban revolution has given man the pluralistic arena for decision that must focus on the human rights of all and the proper use of power. In the midst of this comes the slogan 'The New Morality.'

"What is 'The New Morality?' Maybe it is best answered as, 'morality for the first time.' No longer can man appeal to his cultural laws as absolute, for he is forced to live as though all absolutes are now relative. The Secular City makes ethical decisions out of the situation, not out of some blind obedience to law which is created by a particular cultural view. His decision must be orientated by who he is and his concern to meet the needs of others.

"Thus one doesn't raise the question of whether school boycotts or wars are good or bad by some abstract symbol that only reflects another era, but decides to support a boycott or war because it will help or hinder human rights. A boycott may be justifiable at one time and not another. This applies to all mature decisions. They should be made with concern for humaneness."[1]

What Is Productive Living?

This statement by Pastor Hoyt on the ethics of each new situation illustrates some of the serious problems affecting people in the modern community in their effort to find meaning in their lives. What constitutes productive living? Which actions or decisions that one makes will produce productive results? What constitutes the community? Who is part of the community? Who is not of the community? By what standards of ethics does one derive the authority for one's actions? In the minds of many people, the answers are not clear. In the minds of other people, the answers they have are clear, but probably wrong.

What kind of living is productive? The answer is difficult. Is it a set of living patterns which prolongs the life of an individual, permits the human species to progress in numbers, improves the quality of life, and permits men to enlarge the frontiers of knowledge in the struggle against disease and death, superstition and ignorance, want and squalor?

Productive living must be all of these. It must constitute a living pattern which makes possible progress in human growth, capabilities and knowledge, and which reduces the misery built into the universe, not only for human life, but for all forms of life. This statement, then, is an adequate definition of productive living.

Difficult as it is to define productive living, it is more difficult to interpret the meaning of this phrase for community life and to apply it concretely. Pastor Hoyt, who is representative of the inner city clergy and religions that are concerned about the metropolis and its social system, feels that the possession of

goods as a status symbol is meaningless. However, Maurice R. Stein in his book, The Eclipse of the Community, notes that "status becomes an autonomous motive and mode of life" in the suburban community, and in this community, indeed presence itself in the suburb, is determined by the possession of goods.[2]

Not only is the context of the expression "productive living" at issue in our American culture, but also the question of what constitutes the "community" in our mobile existence. One student found 94 definitions for this latter term.[3]

Nels Anderson, the sociologist, notes that in the big city an individual is part of a greater community and many smaller communities simultaneously.[4]

One is generally accustomed to thinking of a community as a neighborhood; but in a large city, a community is not only to be found in identifiable neighborhoods but also among groups with common interests. The bowling fans of a city constitute a community within a community. Social, cultural, economic, political or other interests which people hold in common in the big cities produce sub-communities.

In fact one observer of the new community organization work of church groups notes that the word "community" in the phrase "community organization" has lost its meaning in relationship to a geographical area. This observer, Lyle E. Schollee, states: "As practiced today, however, community organization often resembles a social movement more than it does the earlier efforts at organization which were directed solely at the residents of a specific neighborhood area. Today the community organization process closely parallels the definition of a social movement."[5]

And again, "More recently the definition of the phrase [community organization] has been narrowed down to focus on a method or process of effecting social change."[6]

Thus, for many people the notion of what constitutes productive living in the community is to spend efforts promoting social change in the perceived interest of the particular geographical or social community with which an individual identifies himself.

Divisions in the Community

While it produces diversity, the existence of many different kinds of communities and community groups in America also furnishes the conditions for a considerable amount of community conflict between groups with antagonistic views as to how to live productively in the community. There are such divergences of views on the goals for community living today that a strong philosophical trend has emerged for using deliberate conflict between contending elements as a means for solving community issues.[7]

This situation constitutes a dangerous and destructive trend in an American society that is sorely troubled by the consequences of technology and economic development which are producing profound changes in our rural, urban and suburban communities alike. Technology and economic development are thrusting people out of resource-based industries such as agriculture and into the cities; they are segregating the people in the cities into areas of the economically unsuccessful and the economically successful people--into the people confined to the decayed cores of the central cities and the people who have escaped to the suburbs. The rural community is divided between the corporation agriculturists and the militant farmers on the one-family farm. The metropolitan areas are divided into antagonistic communities consisting of the people in the suburbs and outer rings of the central city and the people of the inner city. Anyone therefore who addresses himself to the problem of productive living in the community today is confronted by the deep and explosive divisions of these two great cleavages.

I do not intend to oversimplify the situation in community life in America today by noting only these two divisions. There are many additional involvements

and situations existing such as the divisions between the poor white people and Negro people of the central cities. Basically, however, these divisions based on economic circumstances, both in the rural and urban areas, represent key situations in community life. The militants in the rural movement are represented by elements in the National Farmers Organization, and in the urban places by two groups, the freedom or civil rights movement and its arch foe, the groups called the Extreme Right.

What makes the problem of productive living in the urban community so difficult is that under present conditions the urban communities are subjected to severe strains. A spate of books has currently appeared dealing with problems of the city. Their titles have a justifiable note of distress about them: Sick Cities, Cities Are Abnormal, The Squeeze-Cities Without Space and Crisis of the Cities, to mention only a few.[8]

These books on the cities expound on the overwhelming problems of use of space, transportation, housing, sanitation, education, social conditions, and economic base, and its lack of finances and proper political and social structure to meet these problems. In fact, one might question whether we want people to live in the city communities with all their frustrations, whether the city community is a viable one, and whether the effort expended in city living is doomed by the technology of the bomb.[9]

New Value Systems

To solve the problem of productive living in the community, I believe we need to develop a new value system for the functioning of our communities and our society. Urban sociologists and other observers of our cities note the predominance of the money-making motive in American city life and, indeed, in the whole culture. Louis Justement, one of these observers, put this view boldly. "Our cities were built for the sake of making money."[10]

But this view of the purpose is now being widely challenged by those who ponder the ills of the community and who attempt to construct new and better modes of community life. Lewis Mumford has demanded that a "life economy" must be substituted for the money economy which has dominated the city against the survival needs of the people.[11]

The city must become a new viable area for human life. "The chief aim of the city," I once said, "should be to push back the frontiers of knowledge against death."[12]

And again, "...the city must be a special place for encouraging man's attempts to understand nature and the meaning of life, and for his controlling of the forces of nature for the elimination of that which appears to be evil."[13]

The new vision of a community and of productive relationships to it seems necessary for the survival of human society in an era when weapons of mass destruction are poised for use and when the internal stresses in the United States are at the highest level in decades.

The Opportunities for Productive Living

If one looks at the community--urban, suburban or rural--as a special environment primarily built for advancing human society and for developing human resources, a whole host of areas are open for productive action in the community. In fact, there are so many areas of possible activity for improving the community that the individual finds himself overwhelmed and often overcommitted.

The city dweller, for example, can find channels of productive effort in his church, his economic organization, his fraternal group, his neighborhood or civic association, his political party and his recreational group. He ought also to be interested in education, both as a civic matter and certainly as an adult learner.

The major question arises, then, as to how one finds time for all these activities with their subordinate committees, programs and actions, and yet has

time to function as a human being. A great many people in some communities function only in economic activities, in the church and with some kind of recreational group. Others with a broader grasp of the community are overorganized. They are active in a number of groups because they see too many problems to solve and are unable to do justice to some of them.

For the individual in the community to live productively, there seems to be a priority on which to base selection of activities. First, find an economic base; second--learn, study, and become educated before becoming committed to an action group; and third, select that group whose efforts appear to achieve the greatest productivity in making a community viable.

A selectivity of activity in a community where so many needs seem to cry out poses a hard choice for the individual. Every urban individual who is at all sensitive to the needs of his community faces this problem. For some, the situation amounts to a continuous confrontation with crises: there is a battle against the slums, and then an issue of civil rights, and then a call for voter education, and then an issue of expanding education. No community problem is really solved before the next major one appears. Those who would participate in all of these issues for reasons of social responsibility rather than self-interest will soon become exhausted.

The selection of priority of activities then becomes important for the individual to do any good at all, and one must trust that for other community problems, other people will take the lead in solving them.

Fundamental Areas of Activity for Productive Living

There are certain general areas which seem to be more fundamental than others for productive living in the community. These include design, planning, economic development, political activity, social organization, and religious and moral development. It is not possible to state here which of these activities is most productive for better community living because activity in each of these

areas is interrelated with activities in other areas. Of course, basic to all of these is education.

Physical Design

Perhaps one can approach the pattern of productive living by briefly discussing design--design of the physical conditions of a community and the artifacts in it. William F. Ogburn has said, "Technology determines where we live."[14]

It also determines in part how we live and if we are to live at all. The modern city is a product of architectural and engineering design, but it is in danger of being destroyed by engineering and chemical design.

Many of the problems of the community can be solved in large part by physical design. These problems include the physical condition of the slums, use of space, proper use of transportation and the appearance of the community itself. Design of art facilities and artifacts which people desire for beautifying their lives or making work easier are also important for productive living. Hence an individual's association with groups interested in improved design can be most productive for community life.[15]

Groups that have such an impact on producing better community life through physical design are architects and builders, engineering societies, better housing associations, gardening and landscape groups, and art associations and planners. Their task is to help evolve a better designed community, for in the long run a badly designed community is a deadly one.

City architecture was the forerunner of city planning in a physical sense. Attempts at city planning resulted in the realization that regional planning, including rural areas, was vital. Physical land-use planning also promoted the trend first to economic planning and then to social planning when it became apparent that mere physical design, such as housing, did not solve the social problems.

The basic problem in urban design is to construct an environment which is conducive to the continuation of the human species. Cities in many places do not possess this type of environment, and the economic rewards often go to these practices in land use, construction and design which destroy the community environment.

Planning

One can live productively in the community by addressing one's attention to one of the phases of planning in the community. Planning includes physical planning, economic planning and planning for social development.

Planning has become a highly sophisticated profession. The principal danger here is that the planning process may become utterly undemocratic and that the wrong values may enter into planning objectives.

To have a productive life in the community, certain individuals must set themselves apart to study and watch the planning process and to insure democratic representation in planning decisions. Concretely, neighborhood and community organizations should watch the work of professional planners in blight clearance and urban renewal.

Community-wide groups should watch the city planners, the civil engineers and the highway builders to preserve the amenities of life from the professional standards and goals which the planners, engineers and builders set within the narrow confines of their own disciplines. For example, shall all human life, all community amenities, all beauty, all natural resources, be sacrificed to the mad desire of the motorist to drive his vehicle anywhere, anytime and at any speed? And should some other values not be imposed on the work of planners, civil engineers and builders who try to meet this desire by creating a concrete desert in the community?

It is more productive for community life now to struggle for a community public transport system than it is to fight with one's neighbor whose car knocks

down your alley fence and whose own backyard is alternately a muddy slough or a dusty desert because he parks his car on the bare ground.

Economic Planning

Productive living in a modern community not only requires physical planning but also economic planning. All over the world the possibilities of economic growth inherent in economic planning have seized the imagination. Through economic planning, a development of economic resources can occur which will provide the necessary surpluses to advance the standard of living. Developmental planning is seen as a potent device to advance human welfare and, where narrowly considered, to increase national military power. This applies to both the highest and lowest tiers of government.

Speaking of the effects of economic and social planning in Puerto Rico, Prof. Richard L. Meier has written of the planners:

"Their decisions brought about a threefold increase in the level of living in about fifteen years, without any evidence that there was borrowing against the future. This was accomplished without any significant endowment of natural resources or any major windfalls. . . .A significant feature of the program is that notable changes in social structure, language, belief systems and political participation accompanied improvements in welfare. The transition from abject poverty to relative adequacy was so rapid for the majority of citizens that it might be called revolutionary."

And he noted that since popular expectations expanded as rapidly as achievements, some people were therefore dissatisfied. [16]

Some action in economic planning at the lowest community level is important because local communities throughout the United States are in competition with each other to preserve the economic base from which they derive their living. There are thousands of economic development groups in local communities

around the nation, each trying to get the available industrial plants. As automation increases and manufacturing jobs become fewer, the competition is bound to increase.

Not only does the competition exist between states, but foreign nations are beckoning American manufacturers to leave this nation. According to the business pages of the daily papers, the manufacturers are doing so. It is of little use to talk of productive living in a community if the community has no jobs, no income and no tax base.[17]

Educational Planning

Development planning is valid not only for economic planning but for all forms of educational levels--elementary, secondary, vocational, and higher learning. As Meier says, "Investment in education, therefore, is a prerequisite for economic development."[18]

In discussing how educational planning can be useful for more productive community living, Meier notes that education can be linked with and considered a part of two reference systems. He says, "The two reference systems most useful in a developing society for accumulating data and comparison proposals are human resources and lifelong adaptation. The first links education with many programs affecting health, urbanization and industry. The second links education with welfare administration, the maintenance of law and order and community organization."[19]

The importance of education to economic and human resource development is now widely recognized and is the subject of national strategies to meet economic, social and cultural problems. The numerous new major federal laws on economic opportunity, on the enrichment of various kinds of education and on development of depressed areas has opened vast, uncharted regions of activity to those seeking productive life in the community. The new fields of exploratory

activity have become so great that the metropolitan area activist is confronted with almost too many choices of opportunities for new activity. But choices must be made.

Even nations are confronted now with choices of how to plan spending to improve economic activity and education. Education, in turn, further improves economic activity.[20]

The individual who wants to be productive in the community must decide which of the many new programs he wants to enter and at what level. Should he join a local economic development group to plan a strategy for his community? Should he run for the school board or join a local economic development group to plan a strategy for his community? Through public service or association with volunteer groups, should he seek to influence the totality of community planning--physical, economic, educational and social? Or should he work at relatively low levels of direct participation in community organization? Where does the individual develop the greatest leverage for salutary community change? This is the great question of our day.

Social Organization

The fact that many people are aware of the possibilities of economic and social betterment through the capabilities of technology and planning has made possible an increased interest in social improvement by social organization. There are those who believe that the most productive efforts in the modern community can come from a concentration on social organization and social welfare. Human resource development through social organization, accompanied by technical aid, is one of the great objectives of societies throughout the world. Social organization, closely linked with technical aid education, is seen as a means of productive community living.

People who pursue the work of social organization are sometimes dissatisfied with community planning. Gordon L. Lippitt has said that to meet the

population explosion, increased industrialization, rapid mobility, racial tensions, overcrowded schools and more demands for service, "more and more emphasis is being placed on the need for community planning." On the other hand, he points out, "Few students or practitioners in community development have been satisfied with the theory, methods or results of such community planning." This is because there is a "chorus of differing ideas" on how to achieve "community action."[21]

Social organization of people, especially community organization, is now seen by many groups as a means of expressing their efforts most productively. Through community and social organization, it is possible to influence the bureaucracy, the economic power structure, the political power structure and other possible refractory elements which are considered to be preventing desirable social, economic or cultural change. All over the United States groups have arisen which are dedicated to effect fundamental social change and social improvement by social organization and community action. They are encouraged by that phrase in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title II, Sec. 202 (a), (3), which calls for community action programs to combat poverty by having them developed, conducted and administered "with the maximum feasible participation of the residents of the areas and the groups to be served."

This phrase has resulted in the creation of organizations who claim to speak for the poor and who are challenging the existing power structure of society. Among those who consider the device of social and community organization as the new means of getting power in American society are religious groups, political groups of the New Left and Extreme Right, racial groups and social welfare people. Some of the most highly motivated people on the American scene today are involved in social organization, and many view deliberate social conflict as the best means of productive living in the community and of bringing about desirable social change.[22]

Business and industrial groups, recognizing the serious implications of social disagreement and disorganization, especially in racial matters, are now evidencing more concern about social problems. Leaders of business and industry are beginning to appear on civic bodies designed to cope with social problems of the community. The strict and narrow approach of the Chamber of Commerce to the community is being abandoned by the top leaders of business as not being fully productive of economic enrichment.

The traditional areas of influence of the professional social worker has been greatly broadened by the new federal social legislation. The purpose of many communities may be to concentrate on "service" areas only to take care of people displaced by technological change or suffering from physical, cultural or social handicaps.

Religious and Moral Development

From thoughts about productive living in social organization, one naturally moves into the realm of religious and moral development because the motivations to improve physical and social conditions, in the face of economic forces promoting blight and disorder, are often of a religious or moral nature.

Of all the people who are motivated to make changes in the American community, it is safe to say that some of the religious leaders are the most highly motivated. Religious leaders are not only greatly disturbed by injustices that they see in modern domestic society and in international conflict, but they are also disturbed by the challenge to the survival of the church itself.

"In this maelstrom of change," writes Don W. Dodson, "the church has found it difficult to maintain its relevancy either in its program or in its theology. To be relevant, one has to be purposively involved. Because the church members have escaped encounters with the forces of change, the churches as social institutions have tended to find themselves out of the main stream and into the eddies of life."[23]

Another observer of the urban community, Sister Marie Augusta Neal, S.N.D., has said this:

"...the general public is awakening gradually to what the urban sociologist began to understand in the 1930's and what the city planner as architect has failed to understand yet, and this is, that the inner residential core of the American city is not only a physical blight, but a social problem, an unintended consequence of a century of decisions based on a naive concept of economic man and on an industrial expediency which was protected by a national policy of laissez-faire. These conditions were further exacerbated by local political exploitation through the play of private interests against the common good."[24]

No groups have more seriously examined themselves and their role in modern productive living in the community than the groups in the religious denominations, and none are more determined to take some kind of action with respect to civil rights, the freedom movement, slums and blight, education and social welfare than these religious groups. The social action programs of the Protestant churches and such programs as the Christian Family Movement in the Roman Catholic Church have great potentials for changing community patterns.

The problem facing religious and moral groups is to develop some new fundamental concepts of society and to apply these new concepts to productive community living. A considerable volume of literature on new religious views of the community has appeared; one of the most popular is Harvey Cox's Secular City.[25]

As a result of this new religious activity, the ferment of the freedom movement and the fight for social justice, religious leaders are in the front lines of community demonstrations, in positions of influence in community organizations, and in social, religious and cultural groups that are rising to challenge the existing political, economic and technical power structures of the community and the

nation. For people so motivated, the most directly productive way to live in the community is to challenge the power structure.

Civic and Political Activity

There is an element of modern society that considers the most productive way to effect salutary change in the modern community is through volunteer, nonpartisan political organizations. There is another element that feels that improvements can be made effectively through direct participation in the political process. It is hard to separate these groups, as many individuals function simultaneously as nonpartisan civic organizers and as political partisans.

Activity in nonpartisan civic groups such as the League of Women Voters permits the exploration of new ideas, research and the development of new proposals for the community without the potential loss of employment through political reprisal. At the same time, such activity gives one the knowledge of how to cope with the machinery of government effectively to get new proposals of change considered.

The main power of the private lobbyist in government is derived from two sources: his knowledge of the machinery and personalities in government, and funds for political campaigns. Even though the private lobbyist does not have a popular or mass following, he can often get his way against the best interests of the community. Nonpartisan civic groups on a volunteer basis can, to a certain extent, counter the private lobbyist through their knowledge of the machinery of government.

The greatest weakness of many religious and social groups seeking community change is that they do not acquire familiarity with the machinery. They become frustrated. Frustration leads to demonstrations, and demonstrations, if they get out of control, often lead to disorder, defeat and further repression. This is one of the dangers of our time.

However, the basic arena for many community decisions is in political activity. Politics is the method of deciding, as Harold D. Lasswell put it, "who gets what, when and how."[26]

The peak of political influence for change comes in the action of legislative bodies, even though we in America tend to exalt the will of the principal elected executive, whether federal, state or local.

Joining a party, or creating one's own, adopting a platform and campaigning for public office has a potent effect in producing community change. Even if an individual fails to be elected, during the campaign he has the public attention when it is uniquely sensitive to views on desirable changes; and in effect, each candidate forces other candidates for office to make some adjustments to his views.

Moreover, association in a political group is one means of developing information on the conditions of society. Political organizations are detecting posts for community sentiment based on community experience, and there is no real substitute for the education about society and humanity that a candidate gets from campaigning, win or lose.

Some political organizations, especially at the lowest level, are weak because they do not always possess the caliber of people who can perceive and discuss fundamental issues. This is why political leaders must also belong to nonpartisan civic groups of an intellectual bent to be able to come up with viable ideas to adjust to change.

Current Situation of Interest

In the current situation of the community in ferment, there are some situations which the educators must watch and to which they must adjust. (The situations are not listed here in a priority.)

The first of these is the demand on the schools for more active participation on their part in making and practicing policies of social urban renewal. Robert J. Havighurst calls this school of thought the "urban community" school. He contrasts this school of thought with what he calls the "four-walls" school in which it is made clear to the public that schools are to be run by professionals who know their business and do not need advice or help from the outside.[27]

In many large cities, boards of education, school administrators and officers face public groups demanding attention to segregation, inferior facilities and curriculum. A strain has developed that portends ill for the future of the public schools. The community school of thought involving public groups in school policy and action may be the solution to this condition.

Another matter of interest is the internal struggle in our large metropolitan areas between the spokesmen for the poverty groups and the current political power structure. The city political machines which tend to defend the existing economic power structures are being sharply challenged by civil rights groups, minority groups, religious groups and community organizations who want a change in the power structure and who want "in" themselves. This demand for sharing in decision-making is also found in the ideology of the New Left with its demand for "participating democracy," the right of the masses to have something to say about bureaucratic decisions as in urban renewal.

As reported by the daily press, the mayors and councils are not ready to open up the power structure for new elements, and the new groups are prepared to go on the streets to get it. This will inevitably pit these new groups against the police, and the political conservatives will rally to the support of the police, with the result that internal strife of considerable magnitude may be in the making.

One of the most fruitful expenditures of community effort now can be to avoid this clash. It means opening the power structure to new groups. The new

groups must be educated to use the existing channels of political protest and demand, and the power structure must be educated to the wisdom of becoming more broadly representative.

Another problem of education is education for constructive leisure. There is bound to be more leisure for many people in the future. If this leisure is to be spent in the cocktail lounges and bars, or watching low-grade television productions, society will suffer a mortal blow. If the leisure can be directed to art, to improve education, to wise and nondestructive outdoor recreation, then society will be progressive. How can people be educated to make wise choices in leisure?

Another problem in America is the civil rights issue. In some cities it permeates every issue and affects every decision, whether it be on housing, on education, on jobs or on voting patterns. Despite recent legislation, the gap seems to be getting wider, and the opposing sides are becoming more immoderate and hostile. So is education any answer here? But if it is not, what is the answer to this process of the hardening of America in ghetto areas and possible caste systems?

The creation of viable communities in our great metropolitan areas is yet another problem. These areas face an overload of problems--the overuse of land, the inadequacy of transportation, the existence of economically and politically helpless areas of blight, and the existence of fragmented governments. In some of these subcommunities there is no possible way for the individual to live productively because the conditions prohibit constructive living patterns.

To produce a viable community under such conditions demands political action to produce metropolitan government and to bring in fiscal and social aids from higher levels of government. Those who are concerned about productive living in many communities must recognize that the most productive efforts may

come from work to produce metropolitan government and from social programs tied to federal and state aid.

Any organization efforts for productive living in the community must recognize the massive new role presented by the federal government through various programs for social and cultural improvement. Adjustments to these programs are being made by all kinds of agencies and those agencies which will play a dominant role in the future will be the ones who adjust most successfully to the pattern of federal aid.

Making a Choice

The opportunities for meaningful and productive living in the modern community are unparalleled. The problems are great and complex, but the knowledge and devices to attack and solve these problems are readily available for the most part. The individual needs to know that there are means of solving the problems, and then he needs to make a wise choice of where to put his time most productively for himself and his community. This brings one back to the high priority of education as a first step in productive living in the community. Rene Maheu, Director-General of UNESCO, has emphasized that there is a worldwide demand for knowledge:

"The idea of education no longer has to be promoted. The motivation for it exists already and springs deep within the hearts of great masses of humanity.... The need, the passion, for education is such that it is turning into an irresistible clamor of worldwide dimensions sparked by the triple cry for national development, national freedom and respect for the dignity of man."[28]

Even without a global view, one may conclude also that education is fundamental to making wise choices for productive living in the community. Some people in education will have to specialize in this field even as the universities are struggling to adapt the concept of the rural extension agent to urban extension work.

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Issues in Relating Ideas to Action

W. Keith Warner

Mr. Zeidler has presented many interesting ideas, insights and observations about a most significant topic. My purpose is to respond to some of those ideas with some observations on the concept of productive living, the community, opportunities and responsibilities for productive living, and contributions of education to this subject.

The Concept of Productive Living

The first crucial issue which must occur in our discussions again and again is the need to clarify the concept of productive living. We can do relatively little about it until we understand more of what it is.

Some of the most important purposes of men are what Sidney Hook calls "unanalyzable abstractions."[1] They can stir us to great loyalty and move us to action, but give us insufficient guidance. They do not tell us what actions would be needed so that the total results of these actions would add up to the accomplishment of the objectives we profess to seek.

"Productive living" is one of those unanalyzable abstractions. The concept has some meaning, to be sure, but it is not precise enough to indicate sufficiently what would or would not constitute greater degrees of productive living.

But if this kind of living is to become an important goal toward which to orient a significant portion and quality of our activities, failure to define it constitutes a most serious defect.

One of the curious failings of man is why he has been relatively unsuccessful in rendering his larger purposes in society more meaningful. Instead he "agonizes" over the chronic problems which concern him and leaves their solution to what I call "coffee break research"--those profound discussions which solve most of the major problems of the world in any given half hour--and to "leisure-time hobbyists," who intermittently devote themselves to operating organizations for worthy purposes, but who do not take the trouble to learn the principles upon which organized activity can better proceed.

Despite the lack of precise meaning for the concept we are discussing, it is possible to recognize some important aspects of productive living in the community. Mr. Zeidler calls for a new vision of urban community living, including the general features of pushing back "the frontiers of knowledge against death, ...encouraging man's attempts to understand nature and the meaning of life.... controlling the forces of nature for the elimination of that which appears to be evil," and reducing misery.[2] Presumably these characteristics could be elaborated considerably. It is important to notice, however, that they are not devoted primarily to the production and distribution of material goods and services.

Another way to consider the concept is to inquire about its consummatory versus its instrumental meanings.[3] That is, do we intend productive living to be something experienced primarily as an end in itself by individuals? Is it primarily a matter of the individual "expressing himself," or reaching his potential as a human being? Or is productive living a means for accomplishing particular tasks; is it a matter of trying to solve important problems confronting mankind? No doubt it is a mixture of these, but the predominance of one mode of orientation over the other makes a great deal of difference.

For example, if we choose to emphasize the consummatory approach, we turn more to the individual and his subjective experiences. If we choose the instrumental approach, we are committed to more group action simply because groups can accomplish solutions to vast problems which individuals cannot. I take it from the problems Mr. Zeidler discussed that he emphasized the instrumental meanings and the utility, therefore, of group approaches.

Let us assume for the moment that productive living in the community is more an instrumental concept oriented toward solving important problems or accomplishing significant tasks, likely promoted through groups. Imagine, then, the establishment of a Society for Productive Living in the Community. What would this Society do at its meetings? How could its success be evaluated? How attractive would its program and results be? How many people would want it? Which people in the community would participate? Now, imagine the establishment of a second Society for the same purposes. Would the two societies be more likely to cooperate or to compete with each other? Even hasty answers to these questions are revealing in relation to the concept of productive living in the community.

The Community as Actor and Context

While productive living is obviously an abstraction, we may think community is not. We can see it, live in it, measure its size and so forth. But Mr. Zeidler correctly points out that our notions of community have changed with the times. Communities are no longer relatively isolated, relatively self-sufficient "miniature societies," if indeed they ever were. While this is not the time for me to examine the problems of definition of that concept, let me suggest that differences exist depending upon whether we speak of communities as acting productively in some corporate sense or as contexts within which individuals, families and organizations try to act productively. The role of municipal and other levels of government may be greater, for example, when we think of the community as the actor than when we think of it as a context for the action of individuals and

groups of various kinds. In any event, the role of government in efforts toward productive living needs the most careful consideration with an eye toward a more significant role for private groups and for individual responsibility.

Whether communities are considered actors or contexts, it is common to hear reference to them as if they were aggregates of people working cooperatively in some great common cause. This is only partly accurate, as again Mr. Zeidler's presentation suggests. It is true that sometimes a number of people in a community consciously and intentionally cooperate in a common cause. But frequently the community is an arena in which individuals, families and organizations seek their own objectives which only partly coincide with each other's or with any general objectives which might be attributed to the community as a whole. Thus, communities are not only cooperative systems; they are also competitive and sometimes conflict systems. What is good for some groups comes at the expense of others. Efforts at productive living must take these things into account.

To put it another way, there is little reason to expect that a Society for Productive Living in the Community would be either enormously popular or without any competitors or opponents in the community.

Opportunities and Responsibilities for Productive Living

Productive living presumably is concerned with helping solve some of the more important problems facing mankind. But the problems are so overpowering and the opportunities for solutions so enormous that we can be easily overwhelmed, and as a consequence, do relatively little because we cannot see how to do everything that needs to be done.

The community is an important context for these opportunities. Mr. Zeidler has pointed out in an earlier presentation that while people may feel helpless about the atom bomb, they could do something about such neighborhood problems as poverty.[4] Perhaps this is a clue about a proper context for beginning the development of productive living.

We have seen how the development of modern technology has freed us from much of the drudgery for sheer subsistence. This has led to what Mr. Zeidler calls "unparalled opportunities." Or, to borrow a phrase from Professor A. O. Haller, we are confronted with a "crisis of opportunities." To choose some requires the neglect of others. Which, then, should we choose? This calls for a priority system, which in turn is based upon a value system. Mr. Zeidler calls for a new value system, one which would give more weight to what we might call humanitarian considerations and less to making money for its own sake. The question, of course, is how to accomplish this.

In my mind, responsibility is always associated with opportunity. Therefore, as our opportunities are unparalleled, so must be our responsibilities. Productive living requires the personal understanding and acceptance of the idea that the important values in society have a cost, perhaps not a monetary cost always, but a cost nonetheless. Freedom, democracy, human dignity, health and many other important values have a price.

At the same time, one would not go far wrong if he operated on the predictive premise that people want to "have their cake and eat it too." They want the benefits of organization, of philanthropic programs, of schools, of churches and of productive living without having to pay the costs in time, effort, money or other personal resources.

Productive living requires responsibility for good and bad in the world, and a certain amount of what Riesman calls "inner-directedness."[5] People need to stand for and work for good principles and not be forever led this way and that only by the whims of others' opinions. This calls for values and sentiments, but where are such qualities to be taught and learned?

Contributions of Education to Productive Living

Education is sometimes advanced as the great panacea for all ills. There seems to be a related fallacy which holds that "to know is to do." According to

this view, we need only teach people certain cognitive knowledge, and they will respond with actions which are consistent with that knowledge. This premise breaks down often enough, however, to place it in need of considerable modification. There is what we might call an "application gap." We apply much less than we know.

It is true that we need more knowledge in the world, and we need to transmit this knowledge more effectively, but cognitive knowledge is not enough, and people cannot and sometimes will not in every case make their actions conform to their knowledge. This is one of the greatest challenges to adult education. Great strides forward could probably be made in productive living by applying the knowledge that is already available somewhere in our communities and society. Mr. Zeidler seems to share this particular view.

Two of the chief functions of adult education are to help define concepts which are presumed to represent important values, such as productive living, and to develop means-ends bridges between the lofty heights of conceptual abstraction and the concrete reality of what we are going to do on Monday.

This stands in contrast to "agonizing" over problems and the "coffee break research" I referred to earlier. It is one of the costs of productive living that research and other activities are needed to find alternative solutions to social problems. These cannot be done adequately by leisure-time hobbyists who do not, cannot or will not take the time and effort to learn the principles upon which the problems rest. Nor can it be done by simply establishing some organization and charging it with the responsibility. Organizational design and operation also rest upon certain principles which must be learned and used if relative success is to be achieved regarding the most stubborn human social problems.

For example, Professor Eugene Havens and I have been working on a paper inquiring why many organizations accomplish so little of their avowed goals.[6] One of the chief reasons, we think, is the intangibility of those goals. Such

intangibility does not provide sufficient guidance for organizational action, and therefore tangible substitutes are developed, chiefly along the lines of maintaining and promoting the organization and its programs more as ends in themselves. This process by which the organization gets diverted from its professed goals toward devoting excessive resources for organizational growth and maintenance is perpetuated by the way evaluations and sanctions operate in organizations. We tend to evaluate and sanction the more tangible things. Hence, in that imaginary Society for Productive Living in the Community we would tend to count, report, evaluate and reward the number of people in attendance, the number of people recruited, the number of projects conducted and so on. We would pay relatively little attention to the actual results in productive living because we know neither what it is nor how to evaluate it.[7] It seems to me that issues and processes such as these have significant impact on organized efforts to promote productive living in the community.

Another chief function of adult education, of course, is the transmission of knowledge. In this process we tend to emphasize cognitive content more than affective content, or ideas rather than values and sentiments.[8] I do not believe productive living can progress very far without more attention to values and other affective content. In this regard, you will recall that Mr. Zeidler has called for a new value system to enhance productive living.

Further, we tend to tell people rather than show them. The Cooperative Extension Service has a long tradition of demonstration as a teaching device, but this device is not far advanced in relation to social phenomena of the kind we are discussing. Where are the demonstrations of what productive living in the community is really like? Where are the working models which can show people how to create viable organizations for promoting productive activity in the sense of our present discussions?

I can think of no more challenging and exciting possibilities for adult education than to come up with clear-cut, unequivocal demonstrations and working

models of programs, organizations and even communities which exemplify productive living. This would require that we know what productive living is, how to create it, how to evaluate the degree of success in accomplishing it and how to sustain it. Each of these elements points to vast areas of work in the creation, testing, transmission and application of knowledge. This work has its costs; hence, another problem is how to demonstrate or convince people in advance that the cost will be justified by the results.

The transmission of knowledge, however, is too often caught up in what Burton Clark has called an "enrollment economy."[9] What we count, evaluate and reward with further resources is not educational success, but numbers of people enrolled, attending, etc. This kind of context is hardly sufficient for the education needed to facilitate productive living.

Furthermore, there is a competition for resources and leisure time, as we all know. People value a lot of things in the abstract such as productive living. But in the concrete, in terms of what we do next Monday, only a few of those valued things can be supported with our attention, participation and resources.

For this reason, productive living must be made a more tangible alternative, and it must be competitive with other tangible alternatives if it is to develop fully.

Concluding Comments

I have been trying to discuss some of the ideas suggested by Mr. Zeidler and to inquire where some of these leads might go. Let me now make some concluding comments.

It is challenging to imagine our response if the officers of that imaginary Society for Productive Living in the Community were to call upon us for consultation and help. They would be wiser for having read the papers presented at this conference. But where do we go from here?

I think we can predict a few of the things this Society might do. First, they would go ahead in their program of activities without resolving what productive living in the community is. Second, they would not evaluate the extent of their success in achieving productive living; indeed, they could not because such evaluation requires a fairly clear concept of the meaning of the term. Third, their inability to demonstrate the degree of success in their efforts toward productive living would not necessarily constitute a severe handicap for their ability to recruit new members, obtain membership participation and maintain the organization.

A challenge to adult education, then, is how to help them in the context of these predicted tendencies. More help is available than is likely to be used.

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PART IV

Productive Living in the Family

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7

Social Change and the Related Changes in Sex Roles

E. E. LeMasters

Introduction

My emphasis in this paper will be on social change in the American family and its implications for adult education services. I have always regarded adult education as being extremely important in our type of society and am pleased to take part in this conference.

I will begin with some analysis of the concept of social change as sociologists see it, proceed to identify some of the major changes and trends in the contemporary family in the United States, analyze one major change as a sort of intensive case study, and conclude with some discussion of dysfunctions of the American Family.

The Concept of Social Change

The general public has a tendency to equate social change with either progress or decline--things are either getting better or they are getting worse. Social scientists tend to be a bit more wary of making such judgments.[1] The position of the American father, for example, has changed drastically since World War I, but the evaluation of this change is very difficult. If one postulates a patriarchal family system as being desirable, then it might be possible to prove that in respect to male authority the American family has deteriorated in the past several decades.

But if we postulate a democratic family system in which authority is equitably distributed between husbands and wives we get a different evaluation of the above trend. I happen to think that the American father has been "kicked upstairs" and that he is no longer running the American family; he may be the chairman of the board (somebody spelled it "bored" in referring to their children), but I think the little woman is running the firm. Whether she is running it well or badly is almost anybody's guess, but then, how well did the fathers run it before she took over?

Staying with authority patterns to illustrate social change, some observers think that the children have taken over the American family and are running it for their own purposes. Max Lerner refers to this as "the cult of the child."[2] I think there is some truth in this reference, but I don't know how much. But when the Madison Avenue advertising boys begin to pitch some of their commercials directly at the youngsters, one has the impression that some family decisions must be determined to a considerable extent by the children in the home.

Our point so far is that the evaluation of social change in the American family is complicated by the fact that the values or norms of the family system are themselves subject to change. There is also another serious, related problem: the base lines from which to measure the change are not very good. William Goode, perhaps the top family theoretician in the United States at the moment, says there are no really good histories of the American Family.[3] The real reason is the sampling problem: most of the historical documents describing family life in earlier periods of our history do not describe typical families--the letters, the diaries, the family histories and the wills usually depict families that were unusual in some way. The mere fact that these people could write in 1700 or so tends to indicate that they were unusual. I don't know about your families, but mine didn't leave any family diaries or elaborate collections of letters. In fact, we have no family history at all that I have ever been able to

locate. My ancestors were apparently part of the anonymous mass of common people who lived out their lives and left very few records.

The divorce rate illustrates some of these historical problems well. It can be demonstrated from existing legal documents that divorce was rare in America before about 1900, and it can also be demonstrated from modern legal documents that divorce has now become quite common.[4] But what none of the legal records tell us, either for the past or the present, is how successful most of the marriages were or are. In other words, the divorce rate, even when known, does not really tell us how well the marriage system was working in the past or how well it is working now.

Actually, there are at least five distinct categories of marital failure in our society: annulment, separation, desertion, divorce and "holy deadlock."[5] This last category, usually ignored by social scientists, contains those marriages which have failed for all practical purposes but which have been kept intact for some reason. For example, the late publisher, William Randolph Hearst, did not really live with his wife for the last 30 years of his life, but they were never divorced. She lived in the East while he lived in the West, most of the time with movie star Marion Davies. But when he died, the Episcopal bishop performed the last rites as if the marriage had met all of the church's standards. Statistically such marriages are counted as successful, because they remain legally intact. Yet you and I would consider them failures by any standard.

So far we have been talking about the problem of evaluating and measuring social change in the family. But there is also the problem of understanding the process of social change and the family. What causes it? How does it take place? And what happens as it takes place? The late sociologist, W. F. Ogburn, devoted a considerable part of his brilliant career attempting to answer questions of this nature.[6] Although far from being a Marxist, Ogburn ended up with a sort of Marxian thesis: the big changes start first in the economy, and the family then changes to meet new socioeconomic conditions. In other words, he saw the

family as absorbing or adjusting to major social changes rather than causing them. Somebody else has referred to the American family as a "giant shock absorber" which attempts to cushion the impact of social change and social revolution on everyone--men, women and children.

A lot of Americans, and especially ministers, seem to think that the family comes first in our society, but I would have to agree with Ogburn that this is a highly romantic view. General Motors doesn't worry about family budgets when it decides to make a faster and more expensive car. They only worry about whether it will sell. What happens to families is their problem. As most of you know, the automobile has become quite a big family problem, both in the budget and in the heartaches which result from mass slaughter on the highways.

And when General Motors needs a bright young executive in Oklahoma, for example, they don't worry about how his wife and children will react to the move; they only worry about whether he can do the job that has to be done in Oklahoma. What happens to his marriage and his family is his problem.

Local draft board 13 didn't worry about my marriage when they sent me off with greetings from the President for three years during World War II. They only knew there was a war to be fought and a draft quota to be met and there I was. We won World War II in a military sense, but we lost a lot of marriages in the process. And the divorce rate after any of our wars has never receded to where it was before the war.

In many ways the family has a rather low priority in our society. Look at the federal income tax law if you don't believe this. A corporation that has a bad year can carry over the loss to offset future profits, but families can't do that. I have had lots of bad years financially, but it never seems to affect next year's income tax. Texas oil millionaires can write off 25 percent of their profits every year on the grounds that the supply of oil in their wells was "depleted" during the year. Well, I am getting more "depleted" every year, but no

tax adjuster has been willing to take this into account in computing what I owe Uncle Sam.

If you help an elderly parent or some less fortunate member of your family, it is not deductible unless you can prove that you supplied over half of this person's support for the year. Yet we say that we are in favor of mutual aid within families.

I have yet to see any evidence in the mass media in our society that the family comes first. I don't get this impression watching television, listening to commercial radio stations, looking at Playboy covers in my favorite pornographic shop (the corner drug store), watching movies or reading the newspaper ads for Hollywood's latest epic. It is hard to find an American play or novel anymore that describes and analyzes what might even remotely be called a "normal" family. The average American is simply not interested in such material; he wants to see crime and violence, death and tragedy. Perhaps he has always been that way, but we didn't realize it until we could see it on the TV screen.

I'm not even sure that the American church puts families first. It seems the welfare of the church itself comes first and after that perhaps the needs of families assume some importance. I know that the minister's family is not considered of any great intrinsic value. Any number of university students from ministers' families have expressed the belief that almost any church would gladly sacrifice the minister, his wife and all of his children for "the good of the church." Perhaps the Roman Catholics were very perceptive in their belief that the clergy should not marry.

It has often occurred to me that organizations that presumably put the family first don't do this at all. They would like me to be away from my family every night in the week helping save the American family. In recent years I have adopted a slogan in refusing some of these invitations: STAY HOME ONE NIGHT THIS WEEK. THE FAMILY YOU SAVE MIGHT BE YOUR OWN.

It seems to me that a good case can be made for the argument that the family does not come first in our society. It is at least third or fourth in priority in my judgment.

Some people would like to think that we can have social change without confusion and without conflict. They think, for example, that it would be all right for Negroes to have equal rights "if they just didn't cause all this trouble."[7] What these nice people always forget is that the Negro was peaceful for 200 years in America and never attained full equality. In fact, he never came close to it. Without even knowing it, these lovers of racial harmony are very willing to settle for racial peace at any price. That price is continued social and economic inferiority for the Negro and other colored minorites in our society.

There is little or no evidence that we can have basic social change without confusion and conflict. But what most Americans forget is that there is also a price for not changing: the price of stagnation and injustice. We can see how great this price can be when we see films of such countries as India, where men and women plow fields with oxen or by hand. The American farmers may have been through a lot of confused periods since Roosevelt plowed under the little pigs during the economic crisis of the 1930's, but they are producing food faster and cheaper than ever before; and most of us in this country are eating pretty well, judging from our waistlines. Our main food problem in the United States today is to decide what we are going to do about those in our country and in other countries who are not eating as well.

The people who say that violence and strife are always bad simply have not read human history. In fact they have not even read American history (and many of these people think the two are synonymous). Have they never heard of the Boston Tea Party? Did they never read about the massive riots in New York City during the Civil War when the draft law permitted the sons of the wealthy to hire substitutes to do their military duty for them? Don't they remember how the CIO had to battle to get adequate trade union protection for the American

worker? Where were they when we had to fight Hitler to prevent the destruction of all that is decent in western civilization?

It is untrue that the Watts riots in Los Angeles did not accomplish anything. They instigated massive social improvement in the area. And the cost was not as great as some would have you believe--a few lives and several million dollars worth of property. We kill more people than that every hour on our inadequate highways, and we spend more money than that every time a space vehicle fails to go up at Cape Kennedy.

The real problem in social change is to try to make sure that the goals are worth the price. Every one of us has to decide that for himself.

Confusion Over Family Goals

One great advantage that economic systems seem to have in our society is that their goals are relatively clear: they want to make money. Judging by the television commercials for cigarettes and similar products, these business organizations are not too fussy about how they make money. They just want to make it. And if anybody tries to question their methods, they can always reply that crime shows and cigarette commercials don't really influence behavior in our society. It is pure entertainment.

In evaluating family systems the goals themselves have to be identified and often evaluated. Is it better for "elderly children" to live with their children, by themselves or in some place specially designed for them? Are we neglecting our parents if we encourage them to consider various ways of living out their last years? If teenage children in the home don't take well to grandpa or grandma living with them, whose needs take priority?

I think that American families in recent decades have been plagued with problems of this nature. David Riesman in The Lonely Crowd[8] argues that modern parents rear their children with a sort of radar system: you put out your antenna, see what the other people are doing and then do that. In this way

you are always in tune with the crowd and "well adjusted." You are moving, but who knows whether it is in the right direction? Who are the "other people" who decide what will be "in" this year? In the mass society it is not always easy to know.

Before we become too critical of the family and its confused goals, let me remind you that the American school system, both public and private, has been through the same dilemma since the end of World War II: should schools teach driving, swimming, social graces, sex education--or should they get back to the fundamentals of spelling, reading, language, science and math? Many school administrators have lost a lot of sleep (and a lot of jobs) over such issues in the last 15 years.

The American church has not been immune from this confusion of goals either. Long ago the British social scientist Harold Laski commented that the trouble with the church in America was that it couldn't decide whether it was a church or a social club.[9] This question has by no means been resolved. A young minister told me recently that he had accepted a new church with enthusiasm because he thought they were sincerely looking for a strong spiritual leader. To his dismay the first six months of his tenure were spent attempting to decide where to locate and how big the new church parking lot should be. He now feels that he should have gone to an engineering college rather than a theological seminary.

American government also is not without its goal problems. Should the space program take precedence over the poverty program? Should we be in Vietnam or some other place? What programs are legitimately the concern of the federal government and which ones should really be left to the states and local governments?

In view of some of these points, I don't think we need to apologize for the confusion in some American families. We live in a revolutionary age in a society

that has never been willing to concede that what was good enough yesterday is good enough today. Some price has to be paid for deep and rapid social change, and part of the price is confusion.

Family goals need to be reexamined periodically, and it has been my impression that the post World War II generation in our society has been in a mood to undertake the job.

The Major Changes in the American Family

Everybody agrees that the American family is changing, but hardly anybody agrees as to how it is changing and at what speed.[10] Most people also disagree as to the evaluation of these changes. Is the family really declining or is it improving?

Here I would like to merely list the major changes as I see them, after which I will do a case analysis of just one of these changes:

1. Earlier Marriage. Sociologists have been amazed that the age of marriage has dropped in our society in recent decades. Many of them thought the age of marriage would increase as the society became more complex. Just the reverse has been the case.
2. More Marriage. The percentage of the American population that ever marries is now at an all-time high--about 93 percent of the adult population. This is much higher than it was in an earlier America and much higher than the marriage rate in most western societies. Some observers, including the writer, think the marriage rate in the United States is too high. The status of the unmarried adult in our society has been downgraded since World War II.
3. Longer Marriages. In spite of the higher divorce rate, America marriages on the average are lasting longer than they did in colonial days according to an analysis by Paul Landis.[11] The reason, of course, is the dramatic increase in longevity. Death was formerly the destroyer of youthful marriages in our society; now it is divorce.
4. Outside Employment of Wives and Mothers. People thought this trend would reverse itself after World War I, and they thought the same thing after World War II, but both times they have been wrong. Nye and Hoffman make it quite clear that the conflict about wives and mothers working outside of the home has ended for all practical purposes.[12] The only argument now is how soon a mother may return to work after she has had her children. It appears that most wives in the near future will be back in the labor force by the time they are 35 years old.
5. Early Parenthood. Young couples seem to want to marry early and have their children early. The average American mother of the current generation will complete childbearing by the time she is 28. This is quite different from the nineteenth century pattern when mothers often had children until they had completed menopause.

6. A Long "Empty-Nest" Period. Many of these couples will be grandparents in their 40's. With a life span in the 70's, they will have about three decades of their married life left after their children have moved out of the home. The divorce rate for this age group will be higher than it is now as the mutual responsibility for their children will have more or less ended.
7. More Sexual Equality. With increased education for women and greater employment opportunities it seems likely that the patriarchal remnants of the American family will be put aside once and for all. Some observers feel that this has already happened and that we now have a matricentric family system.
8. All Economic Consumption Patterns for the American Family Are Becoming Obsolete. Three-car families are becoming common as well as three-bathroom families. Consumer credit has reached proportions that even businessmen had not dreamed possible. Cars that would have been only for the elite 20 years ago are being bought by almost anybody. The new homes will make many of the old ones look like WPA shelters.
9. The Divorce Rate Will Remain Relatively High. The traditional marriage vow--"until death do us part"--really doesn't mean that any more. All 50 states now permit divorce for a variety of reasons. Prominent American Catholics such as Henry Ford II and the Kennedy daughter (Mrs. Peter Lawford) now obtain divorces when their marriages are no longer satisfying. Individuals here are caught between two moral codes: that of the church and that of the domestic relations court.
10. Family Size Seems To Be Leveling Off at 3 or 4 Children. Recent surveys and recent trends indicate that the great baby boom of the 1950's has ended and that young couples are being more realistic about their family size. There is no indication that the family in the near future will be as small as during the depression of the 1930's.
11. More Flexible Sex Roles. Men and women are invading each other's world in our society and today the emphasis seems to be on sex role flexibility. This will be discussed in detail below.

Briefly, these are some of the changes and some of the patterns that seem to characterize the contemporary American family. Other observers would undoubtedly stress changes omitted in this list. Perhaps I should make it clear at this point that all of these family changes and patterns have numerous implications for adult education services.

Let us now take just one of these changes, that of sex role flexibility, and analyze it in detail.

Flexible Sex Roles: A Case Study of Social Change and the Family

For depth study I have selected what the sociologists like to call "changing sex roles." My students are always disappointed when we discuss this topic because they think it deals with biological sex. Actually, it deals with what men

and women and boys and girls do in our society and how they feel about what they do, or even what they don't do.

If you are interested in this subject, Margaret Mead has probably written about it more than almost any other American.[13] Her major work is cited in the references at the end of the paper. You might also like to look at the work of Max Lerner and David Riesman, also listed at the end of the paper.

My own theory is that the two sexes are becoming more alike in our society--socially, not biologically (thank heaven for the latter). In a rough way the two sexes are being homogenized psychologically, emotionally, sexually, politically and economically. Women are drinking liquor, smoking, wearing trousers, earning a living, mowing the lawn, driving the car, etc. My own mother couldn't do any of these things. Physically, she could have done all these things, but her social conditioning, plus my father's presence, made it impossible for her to do any of them.

But men are changing just as much, in my opinion. They are baby-sitting, getting dinner, washing dishes, doing the laundry, waxing floors, etc. I have a 14-year-old boy who is quite an athlete, and he does not regard himself as a sissy just because he bakes cookies and helps his mother prepare dinner. In my day we would have been afraid to do these things at the same age, but he has no feelings about it at all. I think he will make some woman a good husband some day.

We know that both sexes are changing, but we don't know if they are changing at the same rate or in the same directions. The feminine revolution in our society goes back to about 1900--certainly to World War I--but the male revolution is much younger. My own theory is that it dates roughly from World War II.[14]

One can hypothesize that the two sexes are becoming more compatible in our society as they are homogenized. On television they are now presenting the

girl as the sexual aggressor, something that should please Margaret Mead. In my day we thought that was a male prerogative.

The divorce rate does not seem to fit the theory that the two sexes are becoming more compatible, but these statistics can be misleading. Divorce rates in earlier periods in our history did not really reflect the true extent of marital incompatibility because of the strong pressure to continue a marriage regardless of its pathology.[15] Perhaps the divorce rate today gives us a better picture of marital success or failure in our society.

I believe that both sexes in our society have a subculture.[16] When we marry we attempt to live in the subculture of the other sex for the first time. This subculture deserves more analysis than it gets from students of marriage and the family. What are the two subcultures like? How similar and how different are they? How are they changing? Are we making as much effort to understand the opposite sex as we are to understand the Russians? After all, about one-half of the world's population consists of the other sex, for better or worse. We need to know more about them.

Many people worry about flexible sex roles: they feel that for some reason women should not mow the lawn or that men should not cook dinner. These changes don't bother me at all. I am happy when my wife mows the lawn. I just wish she would wash the car while she is out there.

The main concern in families is that basic roles are performed, that the family's work gets done. Flexibility is essential to survival in modern society, and I feel that it is an asset in the contemporary American family, not a liability.

But somebody always says: what about sexual identity? How will a boy know whether he is a man or a girl know whether she is a woman? I think these problems are soluble. Our boy who bakes cookies knows that he is a boy. His glands have gotten the message across, and the girls who call the house seem to understand that he is a boy. The athletic coach knows it, too.

I think that in the past we identified sexual identity very superficially. My father's masculinity was threatened when he picked up a dish towel. Mine is not. If that is all that masculinity or femininity involves, I feel sorry for us.

Perhaps with the greater social similarity of the two sexes, we need to play down separate sexual identity. Rather than asking "what kind of a woman is she?" or "what kind of a man is he?" perhaps the real question should be: "what kind of a human being is he or she?"

People are always asking me, "But don't you think these changing sex roles are confusing to married couples and their children?" Yes, I am sure they are. In fact, they are confusing in my own family. One day one of my boys asked, "Say, who is running this family?" I said that we had a committee. After all, in a democratic society things are done by committees (or at least that is what we are told). My boy wanted to know who was on the committee. I told him that for the most part his mother and I run the committee, but that he and his brother and grandpa, who live with us, are on it too--usually as non-voters, but members nevertheless. He looked at me for a minute, shrugged his shoulders and walked away.

In the family that I grew up in we knew very well that my father was running the family. When we didn't like the way he was running it, we didn't know how to present our criticisms effectively. This does not seem to be a problem in our committee system; the children voice their complaints most effectively, in fact, too effectively as far as I am concerned. There is some truth in what David Riesman says: Modern children make their parents feel like the proprietors of a third-rate hotel.[17]

But for all of its confusion I like the family system I have now better than the one I grew up in. I think it is good for kids to encounter confusion when they are young. They will certainly find plenty of it in the big outside world, and maybe they should learn about it in the family.

Actually, God did not ordain that women should cook dinner while men sat in the living room with the evening paper. Most of the world's great chefs seem to be men, and lots of men actually like to cook. I myself don't cook but I am a very fine dishwasher. Washing dishes seems to satisfy some deep urge within me (my psychiatrist has a theory about this, of course), and my wife is smart enough not to frustrate this need of mine. The boys are also smart enough not to block my urge. Grandpa doesn't get in the way, but he does dry the dishes and that helps. All in all I would say that we have developed a very effective dish-washing system in our family and it works. I think we have some of the cleanest dishes in Madison as a matter of fact.

My wife happens to be a natural carpenter and "home fixer" while I happen to be the world's worst repairman. I flunked manual training in the eighth grade. In fact it was on the advice of the manual training teacher that I decided to go to college. He made it very clear that I would never make a living with my hands and suggested that I try my head as a last resort.

While I do the dishes at our house, my wife fixes the toilet or repairs a screen door. She is very good at this and charges reasonable rates.

This system may seem bizarre to you, but it works fine for us. There is no confusion about it anymore and relatively little conflict.

As Margaret Mead has pointed out endless times, women can do almost anything that men can do, and some of it better.[18] There are a few biological limitations on each sex, of course, but most of what we consider to be "sex role behavior" can be performed by either men or women. It is interesting that our space program hasn't seen fit yet to let a woman loose in outer space, but the Russians did it successfully.

Actually, Americans are really quite old-fashioned about what women can do. India now has a woman at the head of its government, and in Sweden most of the dentists now are women. I think women would make fine dentists. I would much

rather have an attractive woman hanging over me with that drill in her hand than the male dentists who have excavated in my mouth for years.

We don't have many women school principals anymore; even women's colleges such as Vassar have taken to hiring male presidents. If I were a modern girl, I would be reluctant to attend a women's college that doesn't have enough faith in females to have one of them running the place. Can you imagine Harvard hiring a woman president?

It seems to me that we need a better division of labor between the sexes in our society: women are outliving men by several years, and this may well be because industrial-urban society places undue stress on men. In any event, we don't have to be saddled with the division of labor that our ancestors evolved in a rural-agrarian society.

To repeat, it seems to me that the key to sex role models in contemporary America is flexibility, each person doing what he can do and is willing to do. If the system works, I see nothing wrong with it. There may be some confusion, but I think that is better than complacent acquiescence.

Dysfunctions of the U.S. Family

We like to think that social systems such as the family or the economic system are basically good--that is, that their products are for the most part useful and positive in nature. The fact is, however, as Merton and others have pointed out, that social systems have their pathologies and that some of their products are negative in nature.[19] Furthermore, as Merton makes clear, these dysfunctions are not accidental in nature but are inherent in the system itself. Some kind of skidrow, for example, could be predicted in a society in which status is largely achieved rather than ascribed--that is, due to one's own efforts rather than his membership in some family or tribe--for the simple reason that not all members of the society have the ability or even the desire to achieve a decent position in the society.

Freud, of course, wrote at great length about pathology in the human family.[20] (Some people think he wrote too much about it.) Although his own family experience could not be described as pathological, either as a child, husband or father, Freud spent most of his professional career listening to people who came (or at least thought they came) from "sick families," and his theories were undoubtedly heavily influenced by his sampling. This is always the case when one draws conclusions from clinical cases without comparing them with a control group from the general population.

Freud wrote about sibling rivalry, about the inherent conflict between the hedonism of the organism and the conventions of society, about the desire of children to displace parents as love objects, about the potential incest problem in families, etc.

Whether you like Freudian theory or not, his central thesis is hard to disprove: hate as well as love, and fear as well as confidence is generated in the human family.

A sociologist has confirmed some of this theory by concluding that murders in our society are usually committed by a member of the victim's nuclear or extended family.[21] This makes me feel a little safer walking around Chicago at night, but not much.

Actually the American family has been romanticized by a lot of people, especially ministers. They see it as the salvation for all of our problems, but it is also the cause of a lot of our problems. In the poverty drive, for example, one of the necessities is to break the chain between the lower class parents and their children. Project Headstart has this as one of its objectives whether or not the government admits it. Our society has done the same thing with the children of all of our immigrant groups in America. This was one of the reasons why such groups had so many problems with their children as they grew up in America.[22]

In reality, the American family is basically inadequate to perform many of its crucial functions. Listen to this analysis by Reuben Hill, Professor of Family Life at the University of Minnesota and one of our outstanding students of the American family. Hill writes:

> Compared with other associations in the society, the average family is badly handicapped organizationally. Its age composition is heavily weighted with dependents, and it cannot freely reject its weak members and recruit more competent teammates. Its members receive an unearned acceptance: there is no price for belonging. Because of its unusual age, composition and its uncertain sex composition, it is intrinsically a puny work group and an awkward decision-making group. This group is not ideally manned to withstand stress, yet society has assigned to it the heaviest of responsibilities: the socialization and orientation of the young, and the meeting of the major emotional needs of all citizens, young and old.[23]

What does Hill mean? Precisely what he says. The family is small, vulnerable, unstable, burdened with the very young and the very old, outmoded in some respects, inefficient, etc.

The American family is inherently undemocratic: left alone it would soon produce a social class structure in which only those with affluent parents could get an education or rise in the world. This actually happened in England--a country I lived in for three years during World War II--until the national government had to step in to equalize social opportunity. It is no accident that in societies which are attempting to change very rapidly, such as Russia after 1920 or Red China today, that the family has been one of the principal targets.

The family inherently tends to be conservative: try as they will, parents tend to rear their children for the world of yesterday, the world they grew up in and feel comfortable in.

The U.S. family is entrusted with some of our most imperative functions such as the socialization of the next generation and the internalization of moral norms. Yet it is our least stable social institution. What would you think of our school system if one-fourth or one-fifth of our schools failed every five years? Yet this is about what is happening to our marriages.

What would you think of our religious system if one-fourth or one-fifth of our churches failed every five years? Several million American children are growing up without their natural father or mother in the home. The stepparent is becoming a normal part of the lives of millions of American children.[24] Yet we have always thought of the role of stepparent as being a very difficult one. Has anything happened to make it any easier? Have any of you ever sponsored a course or discussion group focused on the interests and problems of the stepparent in our society?

Two to three million children under 18 years of age are growing up in homes with no father present--the ADC mother syndrome. Groups such as "Parents Without Partners" attempt to help such parents. I have met with the Madison group on one occasion. Have any of you ever attempted to meet the needs of people like this?

There is considerable evidence that the lower-lower class family in our society--the 20 percent at the bottom of the totem pole--needs all kinds of help. Surveys have shown that voluntary youth-serving agencies are not reaching these youngsters, and other surveys have shown that the parents are not being reached either.[25] They don't belong to the PTA or the Congregational Church; in fact, they often don't belong to any formal organization at all.

Last year the federal government upset everybody by requiring, of all things, that representatives of the poor serve on local groups planning the anti-poverty program. This was something unheard-of in American social work, either public or private. Did anybody ever see a client at the annual dinner of the Family Service Association or the Visiting Nurse Association?

Recently, at the annual conference of the Wisconsin Public Welfare Association I heard a panel of ADC mothers discuss their problems and their reactions to our social services. In over 25 years this is the first time I ever heard a client speak at a social work conference. And I can tell you that they were a

lot more interesting than some famous people I have heard at such meetings. One of them was pretty, too. And that's more than you can say for most of the speakers at meetings like that.

One Negro mother on this panel was so impressive that we gave her a standing ovation at the end of the session. She made many of us feel inadequate when she described how she balanced her ADC budget and was rearing her children effectively without a father to help or without some of the resources that most of us take for granted.

Have you ever tried to work with lower-lower class people? I feel that adult education has been having some of the same problems that American social work has been having: we have been accused of deserting the poor so that we could concentrate on the harassed white-collar groups.[26] We decided some years ago that professional social work was a junior cousin of psychiatry and if the poor didn't want psychotherapy, then we didn't have anything to offer them. This charge has been made primarily about private or voluntary case work agencies such as family service associations, but it has had some relevance to some of the public child welfare services.

Vocational schools seem to be becoming junior colleges or technical institutes with the emphasis on post-high school education. Undoubtedly there are sound reasons for this development or else it would not have taken place. Who will then help the youngster who used to be helped by the old-fashioned vocational school? My own thesis is that we are better off to start new services for some of these groups rather than try to reform some of the old services. Agencies are about as hard to reform as husbands or wives, and you must know by now how hard that is.

It is one of our functions to serve as an "equalizer" of opportunity in our society, to intervene when the family does not meet the needs of its members and to do what can be done to close the gap. In our society this is one of the

functions of government, of the church and of social work organizations. We are not meeting our full responsibility when we work more or less exclusively with families that are already reasonably adequate.

Conclusion

Adult education has a glorious reputation in America for helping the downtrodden and those at the bottom of the heap. In social work this tradition is represented by the heritage left by Jane Addams and her adult education efforts at Hull House in Chicago. But social work in the United States has come close to losing this heritage in recent decades. Don't let the same thing happen to adult education. I don't think you will.

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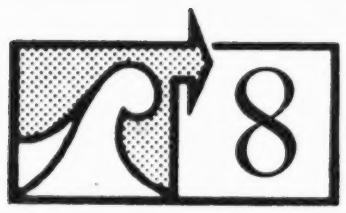

The Complexities of Assessing Productive Living in the Family

Josephine Staab

This paper will examine the issues related to productive living within the family on the basis of some of the ideas presented in other papers in this symposium. First, I shall direct attention to several issues raised by Mr. LeMasters: (1) the priority rating of family living in the American culture, (2) family goals and functions and (3) the division of labor within the family. Then I would like (4) to examine Mr. Toffler's concept of "post-economic work" as it relates to family living, and finally, (5) to explore the need for expanding the concept of productivity.

Does the priority rating of family living in our society need clarification? Goals for Americans: The Report of the President's Commission on National Goals, published in 1960, does not include family living as a goal worthy of intensive study and investigation. Not until one reaches the section entitled "A Concluding Word" does one find a specific statement about the family. Then a very short paragraph disposes of the subject in these words: "The family is at the heart of society. The educational process begins and is served most deeply in the home."[1] Does this omission of family living as one of the national goals assume its priority rating is so obvious that it does not need to be made explicit? This may be the case, but the organization of the report makes one wonder. In the first section entitled "American Fundamentals" only two topics are included. One deals with "The Individual," the other, "The Democratic Process."

As educators do we need to raise this issue about the priority ranking of family living within our American hierarchy of values? Intensive study and debate of this issue would also help families clarify their own goals. Not until the importance of family living is made explicit in relation to other possible goals in life can effective educational programs be designed either to make family living more productive or to help individuals achieve their personal goals in the order of importance to them.

What is the goal of family living? Presumably, it is to achieve a quality of living that is not otherwise attainable. The American pattern of living, the two-generation family privately domiciled, provides privacy and close association between parents and children with many activities limited to the family group. The modern family, according to Parsons, is a specialized agency which has two primary functions: the socialization of the child and the stabilization of the adult members of the family. He describes the importance of family living in this way:

> The sharing of the common household as a place to "live" with all its implications is the fundamental phenomenon--it is this sharing which makes the normal nuclear family a distinctive unit which cannot be confused with <u>any</u> others, based on either kinship or on other criteria. The home, its furnishings, equipment and the rest constitute the "logistic" base for the performance of this dual set of primary functions.[2]

Since the home is the physical environment in which family living takes place, both money and time costs will be involved in providing each family group with a private domicile. Money will be needed to purchase certain goods and services. Time will be required of family members to perform certain services which personalize the pattern of living experienced by the family. In other words, "to live the way the family wants to live," a wide variety of activities must be carried on inside and outside the home by the family members. This brings us to the question raised by Mr. LeMasters: Is the division of labor within the family necessary today? To provide some guidelines for thinking

through the many facts of this question, I shall briefly analyze a family situation and point up some of the factors worthy of consideration.

The analysis will be limited to the situation of young, mobile, middle class families who live in urban communities. I chose middle class families, because we as educators presumably know more about their patterns and problems of family living than we do about family patterns and problems in other socioeconomic classes. I shall also attempt to relate the stage of development in the family life cycle to some of the issues already raised.

For the young married couple there is complete freedom of choice in the division of labor. Assuming good health of both spouses, each can be employed outside of the home in the occupation of his or her choice, and together they can share their private lives within their own home. The tasks within the home can be divided to fit any pattern which is mutually agreeable. Each spouse earns a money income and each shares in the tasks of homemaking. This freedom of action available to each spouse contributes to democratic patterns of authority within the family and to mutual respect for the job done by whoever is willing to do it. In other words, flexibility in sex roles can be fully realized if the marriage partners wish.

In a young family composed of parents and children the situation is markedly different. Childbearing and child rearing are deterrents to a mother's employment outside the home. Withdrawal from the labor force for a period of time is a biological necessity for the wife-mother. How long she will be out of the labor force will vary with a number of factors: (1) the availability of acceptable substitute care for the children; (2) the dollar cost of providing acceptable care for the children; (3) the size of the family's income; (4) the mother's personal preference for work either in commercial production or consumer production; and (5) the husband's attitude or concept of the proper role of his wife as the mother of their offspring.

In this stage of family development, the responsibility for earning a money income of necessity falls upon the husband-father. The size of his income will determine the level of consumption attainable by the family members. The continuity of his income will determine the ability of the family to be a self-supporting unit in society. Hence, the pressure to earn a money income adequate to support his family in the manner deemed desirable is concentrated on the husband-father. During the expanding stage of the family life cycle the division of labor within the family is in part determined by the differences in biological functions of the marriage partners and in part by the alternatives available to the spouses in the community in which they live at the time a child is born. Let's examine a situation in which there are limited alternatives open to a married couple with children.

If we assume that acceptable substitute care for children is not available at a price which the family can afford to pay, we may then ask this question: What are some of the immediate and long run consequences of the division of labor which limits the wife-mother to full-time employment in consumer production and transfers full responsibility for earning a money income to the husband-father?

Becoming a mother and full-time worker in consumer production brings about a change in occupation and working conditions as well as imposing certain economic costs on the wife. The change from being a specialist in a particular occupation for which she had formal training to being a generalist with a multiplicity of tasks for which she may or may not have had formal training is a major adjustment for some young women. The distinction between work and leisure tends to vanish with the change in working conditions from fixed hours per day on specific days of the week to being on call 24 hours a day, 365 days a year. The change from working as a member of a group in which some or all are adults to working alone in isolation from others during most of the day may

be a source of frustration. Equally frustrating and even distasteful may be the change from a job situation where the physical maintenance of the work space and equipment are the responsibility of someone else; at home, of course, she is personally responsible for both.

The economic costs of becoming a full-time worker in consumer production includes the money income foregone from gainful employment; the sacrifice, at least temporarily, of opportunities for advancement in her specialized occupation; and a change in status from being an independent economic person to being dependent on her husband without a claim to money income independent of his discretion.

In addition, the services performed by the wife-mother-homemaker for the benefit and use of family members do not go through the market exchange system. As a result, no money is paid for the services rendered, and the economic contributions made to the family's total income are described as "nonmoney income." Failure to recognize the economic value of consumer production tends to underestimate the total income of the family, as well as the nation, and to create a peculiar status for workers who engage in nonmarket work.

Becoming a father increases a husband's economic responsibilities from supporting one person to supporting a family group, whatever its size may be. But it does not change his occupation, neither does it interfere with opportunities to earn a money income nor does it interfere with opportunities for advancement. Self-actualization in an occupation which fully utilizes his capacities and talents is not impaired by either parenthood or family living.

This highly differentiated use of the family labor supply, which is limited in amount to the working capacities of two young adults, can lead to a satisfying form of human association, or it can lead to family living which fails to satisfy either the expectations of the marriage partners or the human needs of their offspring.

At present, our knowledge about families who achieve happiness in family living is so minute that we do not know how happy families differ from unhappy families in the division of labor within the family. What is needed is a longitudinal research study of families to ascertain the various patterns of the division of labor between the spouses at each stage of the family life cycle. The study would also seek to determine the relationship of each pattern to the quality of family living achieved by the group as well as the degree of self-actualization achieved by each spouse.

Currently, our knowledge of family living is limited to the findings of cross-sectional studies. Generally, the sample of the population studied is representative, but the population is often one selected from a geographic area of limited size, or from families with specified characteristics; for example, age and number of children, gainfully employed parents, number of years married, socioeconomic class, etc. (Hence, the population studied tends to fall short of being representative of all families. As a result, research studies done by different investigators on the same problem may produce contradictory results, or the results of a research study may be challenged by external events.

Take for example the question of whether gainful employment of mothers has any adverse effect on children. A research study published in 1964 produced findings indicating no obvious harmful effects.[3] However, a sequence of unpredictable events challenged these findings. In March, 1966, This Week published a complaint of a working wife against the hostility of housewives in her community. In May, This Week carried the article "Housewives Answer Back." The author commented, "Rarely in the history of the magazine has an article ('Other Women Hate Me') aroused more comment. All over the nation, housewives seized pens and typewriters to expound their side of the argument."[4] Child care was a major point of contention. "On rainy days," a housewife says, "it is invariably the children of working mothers who arrive early in the morning,

uninvited, at your door with 'Can I come in and play?'" The concern expressed by some housewives was this: If children sense that they are not always welcome visitors at their neighbor's home, do the children understand why they are not welcome? Obviously, more research is needed on this controversial subject.

If socialization of the child is one of the primary functions of the family, what can education do to help parents perform this function effectively so that the experience is mutually rewarding for the child and the parents? Do we know what the process of socializing a child entails? Do we know what factors within the family environment facilitate or inhibit the socialization process? Project Headstart provides evidence that in some family environments the process of socializing a preschool child is incomplete.

An even graver example of families that do not carry out the socialization process of their children is indicated by the current legislation requiring doctors to report cases involving apparent child abuse to the authorities. Is socially undesirable parental behavior caused by ignorance, incompetence or unwillingness to perform the tasks associated with child rearing? Legally, parents are responsible for the physical safety of their children. If the child's physical well-being is threatened either by neglect or abuse, the law can intervene to protect the child.

If this concept of parental responsibility were extended from the physical safety of the child to include appropriate and effective socialization of the child, how would it be defined? What would it mean to parents? To children? To educators? To the community? To society?

Thus far, I have presented some of the immediate consequences of division of labor within the family when the alternatives open to a young family are limited or nonexistent. But the consequences of the division of labor within the family may be expressed in later years in a variety of ways by both husband and wife

if, during the years the children were growing up, there was no acceptable mother-substitute for the children.

The husband-father as the money income earner may find the financial burden of supporting the group at a certain level, deemed necessary by the family, is a greater load than one income earner can carry. If so, does the family alter its consumption pattern, alter its concept of adequate substitute care for the children, or alter the division of labor within the family?

The wife-mother as a full-time worker in consumer production may find that her "productivity" is being questioned. Even the use of her abilities and talents may be scrutinized. How her contribution to the family's total income is interpreted by herself, her family and society may affect her concept of self-actualization, and indirectly, the quality of family living which can be attainable.

In a letter to Ann Landers, one homemaker gave vent to her pent-up feelings in these words:

> All my married life I've felt like a nobody because I am "only a housewife." My husband made me feel I should be grateful to him for putting food in my mouth and clothes on my back. Today I read something that gave me a lift. If you print it I'll bet you'll give thousands of housewives a new lease on life...a leaflet...shows what a housewife is worth in dollars and cents on today's labor market.... Believe it or not, this leaflet has given me dignity. I no longer feel like a parasite. Tonight when Mr. Greatheart comes home, I'm going to greet him like a woman who earns almost $8,000 a year because that's what I am.[5]

In a work-oriented society, one's occupation tends to be very important and the size of salary earned tends to be indicative of the socioeconomic status achieved. The Chase Manhattan Bank exhibit of 1966 entitled "What's A Wife Worth?" provides some enlightening data: The monetary value of twelve tasks performed by the average housewife was $159.34 per week or $8,285.68 per year. The economic significance of these estimates was then explained pictorially:

> America's 30,000,000 housewives are a powerful, though neglected, force in the economy. They are worth 250,000,000,000 dollars a year, but are not even included in our statistics! If the housewives' contributions were counted, economists say the gross national product would shoot up more than 35% to around $900,000,000,000.

Obviously, the work performed by each of the marriage partners, whether it is market or nonmarket work, is essential to the American pattern of family living. Failure to understand the character and size of the economic contribution each spouse makes to the family's total income may be one of the factors related to the pattern of authority developed within the family. Should the division of labor between the spouses affect the income and property rights of wives? Of husbands? If there is a manpower shortage, does a mother who is professionally trained have an obligation to society or to herself to accept gainful employment even though there is no adequate substitute care for the children? These are a few of the questions that need to be explored if productive family living is to be achieved in modern America. What appeared to be a simple question--Is the division of labor within the family necessary?--is complex in reality and merits both intensive and extensive investigation.

Now I should like to turn to the concept of post-economic work. The proposed synthesis of work and leisure--with the psychological rewards from work being of greater importance than the monetary rewards--will certainly challenge our flexibility in thinking. When work is no longer viewed primarily as the processing of goods but as a method of processing people, will the importance of family living increase or decrease? Will the work of socializing a child be considered desirable, challenging or rewarding? Will the working feel that formal training for the job is necessary? Will the worker think the work performed as that of a teacher, a governess, a nursemaid or a baby-sitter?

Will the work associated with family living require more managerial, intellectual and social skills and less manipulative skills? If so, what kind of education will be necessary for both men and women? Will the division of labor within the family be organized on a different basis than the one which is predominate today?

In the future, if the concept of work is defined quite differently from what it is today, do we need to stretch our imaginations now by searching for something in our current experience which approximates that which is predicted? The problems of married women in the postwar era can be used to illustrate the point. First, the work associated with family living was described as being inadequate to fully utilize an individual's capabilities. Then the concept of life-time planning was introduced which encouraged women to think in terms of a series of occupations with emphasis on gainful employment as soon as the youngest child was in school. Now, however, Freda Goldman states, "As a cure-all for women's present ills, a job is suspect on many grounds."[6] Instead of gainful employment, she proposes new kinds of "work" for women. Her ideas are most provocative. Whether we like it or not we are being forced into thinking in new dimensions and about new patterns for organizing our lives. Is it conceivable that a new concept of family living may emerge out of these deliberations?

Lastly, does the meaning of the term "productivity" need to be expanded if it is to be used in conjunction with family living? In a work-oriented culture, customary usage of the word "productivity" implies the economic definition, i.e. the amount each worker produced during a given period of time. Theoretically, rates of pay are an indicator of an individual's producitivity in the market exchange system which functions on the basis of contracts.

Hence, rates of pay provide a means for measuring productivity in gainful employment. Practical means for measuring the productivity of persons engaged in nonmarket work, such as work performed in consumer production or in community volunteer services, creates problems that economists have long recognized. To date no workable solutions for certain methodological problems at a reasonable cost have been developed for measuring producitivity in nongainful employment.

Family living, on the other hand, refers to a group of related people who share a private domicile and constitute a unit of mutual responsibility. A family

is formed for noneconomic reasons. Furthermore, a family is a status system within which the welfare and happiness of its members are the primary goals. Although the work done by the unpaid members of the family for the benefit of the family has no monetary value assigned to it, it is essential to the American pattern of family living.

If we wish to focus attention on productive family living, does the concept need to be defined more precisely, or can the meaning of productivity be expanded? If the only criterion for the measurement of productivity is the dollar measure of work performed within the market exchange system, then does it follow that all work which cannot be measured in dollar terms is nonproductive? Certainly not, although this pattern of reasoning may be employed by the general public and even some academicians.

If criteria for measuring productive activities in nonmonetary terms as well as monetary terms were developed, would the concept of productivity be made more meaningful in the context of family living?

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